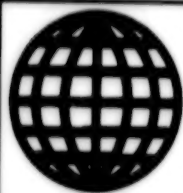


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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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Gorbachev Uzbek Mafia Case Silence Scored

90UN1501A Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 4 Apr 90 p 3

[Letter from USSR people's deputy N.V. Ivanov to the President of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev: "Why the Silence?"; the text of the published letter was recently read out over Leningrad television. The original has been sent to the President of the USSR]

[text] Mikhail Sergeyevich.

As you know, I am not among those who support your political line and I spoke out against the election of a President of the USSR at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and was among the 122 deputies who kept their voting papers as a sign of protest.

But it is not these profound differences that prompt me to turn to you for time and life itself will inexorably put everything in its place, but the wishes of my constituents in Leningrad city to receive an explanation regarding certain matters touching on the provocations have in recent months acquired a new tone and now affect you directly.

As you are aware that the crushing rout of criminal case No 18/58115-83 on the Uzbek-Moscow-Kremlin mafia groupings was initiated by officials of the USSR Committee for State Security [KGB] and the USSR Procuracy way back in April and May of 1989 under the cover of CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet commissions led respectively by the chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee B.K. Pugo and the USSR Procurator General A.Ya. Sukharev, and was completed under the cover of the No 3 Commission of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. It was accompanied by the removal of T.Kh. Gdlyan and myself and more than 70 members of the investigating group from further investigation; the violent seizure of materials in a criminal case without formulation of the official documents for their acceptance and transfer; the rehabilitation high ranking leaders proven guilty of particularly large-scale bribery, including all delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference and persons who at one time worked in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus; and the return to the mafia of some of the valuable confiscated from them and the re-embodiment of a "case of corruption" into a case of the investigators, which, the requirements of the law notwithstanding, were investigated from 25 May 1989, or more accurately, fabricated against them by interested parties under the leadership of the USSR Procurator General, and also by persecution by a rebellious investigative group in the mass media.

Today it is obvious to the overwhelming majority of the voters that this bacchanalia of lawlessness under slogans of building a "rule-of-law state" is not only the reaction of corrupt "top" people to the danger that they will be unmasked but also an unsuccessful attempt by any

means to hold on to monopoly power, wealth, and privilege and even sharply to enhance the shaky authority of the demoralized party elite. At the same time some circumstances have up to now been interpreted ambiguously. But for now let us deal with those circumstances, extremely important for you personally, on whose clarification the possibility or impossibility of you occupying the high post of President of the USSR depend.

Let me remind you, even though you have been informed about this, that last year a representative of the special services, A.S. Dukhanin, started to spread deliberately false information that during the process of the investigation the leaders of the investigating group supposedly tried to obtain from defendants evidence about CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary A.N. Yakovlev and the former first secretary of the Moscow City Council and now chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee B.N. Yeltsin. Later this same USSR KGB colonel, and after him certain deputies from the USSR Congress of People's Deputies Commission, started categorically to assert that in the criminal investigation there were "materials" and "evidence" against A.N. Yakovlev and B.N. Yeltsin.

In February 1990 the falsifiers added another two names to this list. In the CPSU Central Committee newspaper RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA the co-chairman of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies Commission R.A. Medvedev stated that in addition to A.N. Yakovlev and B.N. Yeltsin mentioned earlier in the criminal case, there was also EVIDENCE against you. At an open meeting of the Commission on 22 February with journalists present, the other co-chairman, V.A. Yarin, also mentioned this, and R.A. Medvedev concretized the situation, claiming that in the materials on bribery there was testimony from four persons against you and one piece of testimony against your wife, R.M. Gorbacheva.

It is quite obvious that this provocation, for which the foundation was laid by the KGB colonel A.S. Dukhanin, could not be successfully developed without the approval of the USSR KGB, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member V.A. Kryuchkov, and the USSR Procurator General A.Ya. Sukharev. Whereas at one time they spoke in a friendly manner in defense of their fellow-thinker and "party comrade" Ye.K. Ligachev, in this case they were nursing a grudge and remained silent, thus demonstrating their involvement in these dirty actions.

Speaking out in favor of honest and ethical methods in our professional and political activity, T.Kh. Gdlyan and I, as former leaders of the investigating group, have repeatedly refuted these fabrications. And although all the central mass media are still closed to two USSR people's deputies, I have twice managed to speak on the subject on Leningrad television. In particular, on 6 March of this year I explained to television viewers that the purpose of the provocation against A.N. Yakovlev and B.N. Yeltsin is to compromise them. In contrast to

Ye.K. Ligachev, A.N. Yakovlev is for many reactionaries in party apparatus an undesirable figure in the Politburo, while B.N. Yeltsin, who at one time provided substantial help in moving ahead the investigation of this matter, is one of the opposition leaders and a figure hated by the party autocracy. A considerable proportion of the population believes us and recognizes that if the materials in the criminal case do contain evidence of bribery against particular officials (for example, Ye.K. Ligachev), then this is most serious information. It is on this that the provocateurs are counting. While repeating over and over again that the investigators allegedly extorted testimony from those being investigated against all the leaders in the party and the country and that they do not believe it, the falsifiers are persistently associating with the criminal case persons who are not involved so as thus to weaken their political opponents and to sow doubt about their probity. I also stated on Leningrad television that during the period of our work on the criminal case, no citizen gave evidence about involvement by M.S. Gorbachev in corruption, and we gave two versions of the reasons why this information is being spread today: either it is a jesuitical matter and you, as head of state, are not personally involved, or it is a plot by certain forces against you. Drawing attention to the agreed actions of the special services and the co-chairmen of the Congress Commission, I demanded that the USSR Supreme Soviet urgently offer an assessment of this entire provocation.

The next day it was precisely the former version that was officially confirmed. A video recording was made in Moscow city of your ardent supporter A.V. Golik, whom you and A.I. Lukyanov had just promoted to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission. Being simultaneously a member of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies commission checking materials pertaining to the activity of the investigating group of the USSR Procuracy led by T.Kh. Gdlyan, in the discussions of the violations of the law by the investigating group and the "objectiveness" of the commission, he again claimed that materials are available about you personally. For some reason this video recording was also sent to Leningrad television and was broadcast from there in its evening program.

Again you did not react in any way to the spread of information that discredits you. Neither was there any reaction from leaders in the law enforcement agencies or other power structures.

During the work of the 3rd USSR Congress of People's Deputies, at their own initiative 22 deputies signed a request for information and handed it to you personally. It contained a demand that the situation be urgently clarified: either the materials in the criminal case really do include information on corruption involving you and your wife, as R.A. Medvedev, V.A. Yarin and A.V. Golik claim, or they are lying. It was proposed that this statement be circulated as an official Congress document and be reviewed without delay since your nomination to the post of President of the country was being debated.

After familiarizing yourself with this document you not only blocked its circulation among the USSR depends but also refused to offer any kind of explanation, which, in my opinion, served as additional authentication of your involvement in the latest game of cards being played by the people in your entourage.

It is my recollection that after your election to the post of President of the USSR, in answer to whether or not you intended to respond to written or oral questions you stated that most of it had already been elucidated in your speech and that others were prepared to give answers in a private capacity.

And to this day some of my constituents are suggesting that you have become the victim of intrigues and are extremely interested in disproving the information that discredits you. If this is so, then here is a unique opportunity for them to be convinced. First, in this case you, as President, will assuredly not object to T.Kh. Gdlyan and I being assigned to check the source of the obviously fabricated documents that appeared in this case against A.N. Yakovlev and B.N. Yeltsin and you and your wife, whose existence the special services and the co-chairmen of the Commission have been tirelessly claiming. No one knows the material in the criminal case better than we do, we do not yield to pressure and we shall establish quite quickly the entire circle of organizers and executors in this falsification. Second, you will certainly find the time to receive me personally or the those deputies (the 22) who submitted their written appeal to you. Of if you wish, you could hold a direct conference meeting with us by radio.

On the other hand, silence and ignoring the questions that have been raised, or other actions are unworthy of the President and will enable my constituents and myself to draw certain conclusions from this entire action to discredit you.

USSR People's Deputy N.V. Ivanov, 21 March 1990.

Oleynik on Powers of Union, Republics

*90US0794A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 13, Mar 90 p 4*

[Stenographic record of the text of the 21 March 1990 speech by deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities to the USSR Supreme Soviet: "We Should Plan for a Real Union of Agreement on Sovereign Powers and Peoples..."]

[text] The decisions of the USSR congresses of people's deputies pertaining to reform of the constitutional system and the harmonization of interethnic relations are entering the phase of concrete implementation. It is common knowledge that at recent sessions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet a draft law has been debated associated with renewal of the Union Treaty and delineation of the powers of the USSR and the union republics. The speech made on this issue by the deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities B.I. Oleynik at the 21 March session of the

Council of Nationalities evoked great interest. Today we present for your attention the text of the speech.

Esteemed colleagues, against the criticism backdrop where daily we are receiving almost combat doses of the radiation from the interethnic explosions, the draft law on renewing the Union Treaty and delineating the powers of the USSR and the union republics submitted for your consideration was even yesterday "in the very middle of the column" but today is right out there on the point of sociopolitical life. Naturally, it is perhaps also far from perfect, as is any draft law. But its foundation, if we are prepared to conclude a Union Treaty, is new and up-to-date, and it is extremely necessary that we examine it.

I am deeply convinced that the initiative in this great matter should come from the roots, that is, from the union and autonomous republics and the other national formations, from their peoples. They and only they with the full agreement of the authorities can shape the model for the future federation. I think that the hour has already rung out threateningly and that it is time to move finally from general considerations and wishes and heated discussions and ruminations in the abstract sphere of categories to concrete work to create new federative ties and to begin in free and open debate to review the concept of renewing the Union Treaty and delineating the powers of the USSR and the union republics.

Let me note that the draft law has been debated in the commission four times with the most active participation of experts, and has been reviewed by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and circulated to all committees and commissions and ministries and departments for familiarization. Consequently, there are grounds for asserting that it has been prepared under conditions of full glasnost, with observance of the rules of democracy and the free and frank exchange of opinions, relying on Soviet and international legal standards.

A casual person unfamiliar with our history might be astonished: whence all the passion when all that is required is to renew the 1922 Treaty on the Formation of the USSR giving due consideration to today's realities? And in truth, this document does contain the foundations of that for which we are now striving, naturally with amendments for today, that is, for the clear-cut delineation of powers between the USSR and the union republics. But everything is not so simple, or rather, nothing is so simple. On the one hand, since 1922 we have, as it were, always lived in a federative state in which the union republics have been regarded as sovereign states, and other peoples afforded the right of self-determination in the form of autonomous republics and other autonomous formations. But on the other hand—and this also comprises life itself, the real existence of millions and millions of people—we must take into account the fact that the 1922 treaty died the day it was born. That many if not all the peoples were cruelly humiliated, deprived of the right to handle their own

affairs, and were experimented upon with all the inventions of an authoritarian and bureaucratic system of management, even as far as the amalgamation and resettlement of entire peoples from their native places into unique kinds of Bantustans. Naturally, this all left a deep imprint on national self-awareness and became the cause not only of the tragedies of the past but also of the present interethnic explosions.

Perhaps everything that today is hampering us in perestroika and in dealing sensibly and calmly with the economy, and in our well-being and culture stems precisely from these roots, from the outraged national sense and historical insult, which, of course, can be overcome only through mutual respect and trust. For now, when perestroika has opened up all kinds of opportunities for the revival of the initial noble ideas of our commonwealth as equals among equals there still lives in the subconscious a suspiciousness of everyone, associated with the center as a potential oppressor and leveler of the nations.

Yes, there has been too much pain even to believe immediately in the sincerity of the most perfect laws—this has been palpable in this present debate, and it still is. But we must move ahead, overcoming mutual suspicion, and sometimes even hostility. The sooner we start to believe in each other's sincerity the more decisively we shall be in convincing others that the new Union will be built up of sovereign peoples and national-power thinking and rights, and the sooner we shall reach agreement.

In fact, the foundations of this agreement have already been drawn. During the process of preparing the draft legislation we have moved ahead significantly, first and foremost along the line of equalizing the authority of the autonomous republics and the other autonomous formations with that of the union republics. What remains to be done, it seems to me, is to take one decisive step in order to remove the problem. I hope that you will feel that the draft law that has been submitted has reduced the power of the center to a minimum by providing maximum extension of the rights of the republics as sovereign powers. Mention should also be made of the fact that in effecting democratic standards, apart from the majority of the articles, we are also proposing special opinions on particular articles. In particular, the opinion of deputies Medvedev, Gayer, Pogosyan, Ardzinba and others of our colleagues.

Thus, the draft law being reviewed, which delineates the powers of the USSR and the union republics, is essentially one of the piers underpinning the perfection of our federative system, raising the mutual relations between the center and the union republics to a qualitatively new level. Oriented primarily on guaranteeing for the union and autonomous republics full powers in their own regions, except for those matters pertaining to economic and sociocultural development as indicated in article 6, they guarantee the communist onts of the peoples united in the Soviet federation. Naturally, this has required a

certain amount of detail, first and foremost in matters relating exclusively to the management of the USSR as developed in article 7 of the draft law. Here, it is important that under the new law this list cannot be altered in any way except in agreement with all union republics—article 8.

At the same time the draft makes provision for the right of organs of state power and management in the union republics to resolve independently problems associated with the location of production and economic projects and insuring comprehensive economic and sociocultural development on their own territories. With respect to satisfying the demands of the population, manpower utilization and environmental protection, and social and everyday well-being, the republic organs are given the right to coordinate and monitor the activity of enterprises, establishments and organizations belonging to the USSR and other union republics—part 1 of article 4.

In our opinion this clarification fills with specific content part 1 of article 1, which affirms a basic and fundamental principle: "The union republics... are sovereign socialist states and possess powers over their own territories except for those powers that they voluntarily or by mutual agreement assign to higher organs of state power and management in the USSR." Another important point in the law is the provision establishing the sphere of joint management by the USSR and the union republics. Each of the seven clauses in article 9 covers the most important fields of interaction of federal and republic organs of power. Here the emphasis is thus: I quote: "common foundations, common principles of leadership, common policy."

It should be emphasized that under the present law the powers of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics in the sphere of their joint management can be allocated between them by treaties and agreements, but necessarily taking into account the special features in the development of a particular republic. In those cases in which a particular problem pertaining to the sphere of joint management by the USSR and the union republics is not resolved by a USSR law, the republic has the right independently and fully to effect some legislative regulation of relations in the corresponding sphere—article 11. The draft under discussion does not avoid the long-standing problem of mutual territorial claims and disputes between republics. The acuteness of this problem, which has had tragic consequences, is obvious to all of us. Therefore the law reflects some of the principles and certain regulations establishing the criteria and procedure for resolving territorial disputes within the framework of the federative state. It seems to me that parts 3 and 4 of article 3 indicate a real way out of impasse situations when bilateral negotiations do not lead to mutually acceptable results.

During the course of work on the draft law it has become clear that there are considerable difficulties, expressed in the polarity of views and the different nature of the approaches and interests of the union and autonomous

republics and other autonomous formations. This is shown virtually unambiguously in the fact the extreme centralist tendencies adversely affect not only the line from the center to a union republic but also at the level of the autonomous republic through to the autonomous republic or autonomous formation. Our reality offers more than enough specific examples of this. Let us be candid: independence and self-management at this level of interethnic relations have been more deformed than along the line from the center to the union republic. It is clear that it would be unforgivable to disregard this extreme problem in this draft law.

Accordingly, part 2 of article 1 emphasizes that autonomous republics and autonomous formations may be part of union republics on the basis of the principle of the free self-determination of peoples who on their own territory are fully endowed with state powers except for those pertaining to the management of the USSR and the union republics.

Part 2 of article 4 points out that the autonomous republics and autonomous formations are empowered to deal with all questions of economic and social life on their own territories, guided by the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the corresponding union and autonomous republics.

In addition, part 3 of the same article clarifies this: "In the field of economic and sociocultural development on its own territory an autonomous republic has the same rights as a union republic with the exception of those that by agreement between them are retained by the union republic." We italicize the fact that in the sphere of economic and sociocultural development the autonomous republic is given virtually total freedom to act since it delegates some of the powers in this field to the union republic only on the basis of agreement with it. Thus, the principle of economic independence and local self-management is set quite deeply and consistently.

The significant extension of the republics' independence is reflected in their right to engage in direct economic and cultural relations among themselves and to conclude bilateral and multilateral agreements. This opens up broad vistas for inter-republic relations and enables intensification of the different aspects of interrepublic links and the intellectual potential of a territory, and promotes economic initiative.

However, egotistical trends or a one-sided interest may arise here and exert an adverse effect both on the all-union obligations of the republics and on direct interrepublic links. In order to safeguard the common interests of the republics the draft law stipulates that interrepublic agreements should not be at variance with the interests of the USSR and the other all-union and autonomous republics. Article 4 part 4.

In delineating the powers of the USSR or the union republics it is of fundamental importance to guarantee the unifying role of laws that form the underlying legal foundation for the rule-of-law state and the all-union

republics and autonomous formations. Article 12 of the draft law provides unambiguously clear proportions to safeguard the rights both of the federal authorities and those of the union republics. The law proposes that in the event of a contradiction between the constitution of a union republic and the Constitution of the USSR, the Union constitution shall prevail.

At the same time it is emphasized that USSR laws and other enactments may not violate the right of the union republics underpinned by the USSR Constitution and the republic constitutions.

Naturally, in everyday practice there may be collisions, when a union republic finds itself in disagreement with actions, resolutions or instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers and its ministries and departments.

In this event the organs of state power and management in the union republic have the right to oppose the action of such enactments on its own territory and submit it to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee or Supreme Soviet. The legal power to take such steps in provided by article 14.

To sum up, I suggest that the draft reflects in more or less the best way the basic problems pertaining to the delineation of powers between the USSR and the republics. Notwithstanding, I can sense an alarming chill. In order to remove this chill, it seems to me that it would be worthwhile guaranteeing the sovereignty, and for this in any republic to introduce into the Council of Nationalities the daily practice of ratifying particular laws and resolutions (and in exceptional cases to permit the right of veto).

The ideal, of course, would be to include all republics in an international community whose apex would be the United Nations.

If there are objections that these hopes do not lie in the near future, then I answer, first, that it is not so far off, and second, I remind you of what has been known for along time, namely, that the future starts today.

In short, we must not plan for some kind of temporary student hostel where the seniors would take the more comfortable rooms, but a true union of agreement between sovereign powers and peoples, from which those who enter voluntarily will not wish to resign. In fact, it is for this that the draft is being submitted to the experts of the Council of Nationalities in order to work out today's optimal version that will be equally acceptable to all peoples. I thank you for your attention.

Deputies from Autonomous Regions Unite

90US0795A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 14, April 90 p 6

[Roundtable discussion prepared by Igor Voyerodin: "Stumbling Status. Whence Stem Many of the Ills of the Autonomies"]

[Text] In July 1989 during the work of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet a parliamentary group of USSR deputies from the autonomous formations was formed. Some 150 deputies signed a document registering the group, including almost 100 members of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Today's interview in SOYUZ is devoted to the aims set in creating the new parliamentary group and the problems of the autonomous formations. Those taking part include Vladislav Grigoryevich Ardzinba, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet subcommittee for the state and legal status of the autonomous formations, doctor of historical sciences and director of the Abkhaz Institute of Language, Literature and History, Tufan Abdullovich Minnullin, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and writer, and Vladimir Petrovich Larionov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, professor, director of the Institute of Physico-Technical Problems of the North.

[Voyerodin] What was the stimulus for the creation of your group and what are tasks that it has set itself?

[V.G. Ardzinba] It would probably be correct to say that it was life itself that prompted the creation of the parliamentary group from the autonomous formations, and the presence of the many unresolved problems that that have built up over the decades. I understand now that no matter where one looks there are complexities. But really it is question of the complexities and problems stemming from the, in my view, imperfect national-territorial arrangement of our state, which is reflected significantly in the lives and well-being of many peoples. And I think that a society cannot call itself civilized and healthy while problems of this kind exist. There are now 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous oblasts and 10 autonomous okrugs in the USSR. Almost 29 million people live in those formations and, by dint of the imperfect status of the autonomous formations, it is significantly more difficult to satisfy their needs than the needs, for example, of the inhabitants of the union republics.

[Voyerodin] Wherein lies the imperfection?

[T.A. Minnullin] At least in this: that the autonomous republics, not to mention the autonomous oblasts and okrugs, enjoy considerably fewer rights than the union republics. This applies to policy and economics and culture. The inequality follows through even to the number of national representatives in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Why are republics like Tatariya and Bashkiriya represented in lesser proportions than the Baltic republics? Only because the former have the status of autonomous republics while the latter are union republics. I think that this is unfair.

[V.P. Larionov] Certainly representation in the Supreme Soviet is still not the most vital question, although it is not unimportant. Let us talk about more urgent matters that of direct significance for our peoples. For example, economics. According to figures from P. Alekseyev, a candidate of economic sciences from the USSR

Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Yakut Scientific Center, the net profit in the national economy of Yakutiya is about R14 billion. Of course, in international prices. But the official figures say something else: each year the republic "owes" the state R1.7 billion. A strange drop is it not? But everything can be simply explained: the local budget gets the crumbs of the profit and the lion's share is transferred to the center. But of course, the paltry sum left in the republic is not enough to develop the national economy and social sphere. So we have the subsidies and the "debt." The state "is supporting" one of the richest republics. Yakutiya's poverty is worsened even more by the fact that the union ministries and departments are exploiting its natural resources using the extensive-raw materials method, rapaciously by means of selective and unregulated exploitation of resources at a low technological level. The status of the republic and its legal impotence against the Center enable the departments to manage things as they please, and they are quite unaccountable to the local organs of power.

[T.A. Minnullin] To use R. Nishanov's expression, the departments regard the autonomous formations as some kind of subsidiary economy. In Tatariya 85 percent of all enterprises are of union subordination. Now, under cost-accounting conditions, they have completely turned their attention away from the needs of the local population. Let us assume that some worsted factory is located in Kazan and subordinate to Moscow, while a branch factory is located "deep" in Tatariya. Under no circumstances can even a single meter of fabric be sold at the production site, everything is handled by the Center. And the sad, to say the least, result is that the main revenues for the budget of the autonomous formation consists of the incomes of hairdressers and bath houses, and profits from the sale of alcohol. And this is "economics"? Things in the spiritual life of the indigenous inhabitants of the autonomous formations are much worse. Let me cite for you a sad figure that has emerged as the result of this imperfect status for the autonomous formations: of the 7 million Tatars little more than 1 million can now speak their own Tatar language.

[Voyevodin] Tufan Abdulloovich, you have touched on a very painful subject, namely the interconnection between the present state of the autonomous formations and the deformations in the spiritual life of the indigenous population...

[L. Larionov] Today, in the north and northeast of the country there are 26 numerically small peoples—the Yukagir, the Eveny, the Evenki, the Khanty, the Chuchki, the Saamy, the Nivkhi and others. For a very long time we have all been euphoric about the loudly proclaimed slogans praising the great leap forward by these peoples from their initial condition into socialism. In fact, during the first years of Soviet power there were significant changes in the development of the northern outlying districts—they acquired a written language and the so-called new literature was born. But then they started to close the national schools and the primers and

books in the languages of the indigenous population began to disappear, and Russian began powerfully to supplant the national languages. Almost everywhere this led to loss of their own culture and loss of their roots. For example, among the Yukagir, whose numbers in Yakutiya today are scarcely more than 500, the number of people who remember their own language can be counted on the fingers of one hand. They are mainly old people; the young speak exclusively in Russian. The tragic nature of the situation is that entire peoples are threatened with disappearance in some places. The processes of assimilation are gathering strength and then the very inherent features of a "diluted" nation disappear.

[V.G. Ardzinba] What we have today is the consequence of "wise" Stalinist policy and its well-known postulate about the "future burgeoning and merging of the nations." In Abkhaziya, also in the Thirties, national schools were opened and teaching was in the Georgian language. Lavrentiya Beriia "did his best" there—of the entire Abkhaz intelligentsia, three men were left whole... Today the names of 50 percent of all populated points have been changed and the indigenous population makes up only 20 percent of the population in the republic. Yes, this is a very slippery subject, and we have already heard complaints about nationalism, but we are fighting only for the restoration of the rights of our peoples. Incidentally, Abkhaziya did initially have its own status in an equal footing with the other republics and participated in the creation of the USSR, and then by Stalin's will was "downgraded" to an autonomous formation.

[Voyevodin] What solution do you see to the situation that has taken shape and how can we take into consideration the just demands without assuming interethnic dissension? For this is a most important state task...

[T.A. Minnullin] Probably the most important thing for our group of deputies today is not only to be heard but also to be understood correctly. We do not at all advocate the breakup of our federation in any circumstances. On the contrary, we truly believe that giving all the peoples of the USSR without exception their sovereign rights will unify the country and make it really free. Only true equality will bring us closer together, extricate us from crisis, and help in overcoming all barriers.

[V.G. Ardzinba] In our view there are two ways to do this. The first assumes giving all national-state formations in our federation the status of union republics. There is no need to fear their great number; this is not important; what is important is people's sense of social being. But there is another way. Preserve the autonomous formations but pass a law on the delineation of powers between the USSR and the subjects of the federation as the basis of the Union treaty that is now being discussed in the parliament. And indeed there is a number of functions that the autonomous formations are unable to fulfill; defense, for example, foreign policy and so forth. All these functions of the autonomous formations can be transferred both to the union republics of which they are part, and to the Center.

A quite abnormal situation has now taken shape in the autonomous formations. The most dangerous is the situation precisely in those that are part of the union republics. The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic is a federation, and consequently, the rights of the autonomous formations within it have been underpinned. They may be nominal and today they may be trampled by the departments, but they do exist. In the union republics the position, we agree, is different.

[Voyevodin] What specific work is your parliamentary group doing with other groups of deputies?

[T.A. Minnullin] The practical result of our work is that the words "autonomous formation" have started to be used more often. And incidentally, the fact that Vladislav Grigoryevich heads the subcommittee on matters relating to the autonomous formations is thanks to our group, because previously there was no such subcommittee.

[V.G. Ardzinba] There are already specific laws in which due consideration has been given to the proposals from our group, although in fact initially the words "autonomous formation" were simply not to be found in the basic laws. Our interests have been considered in the USSR laws on ownership and on land. The most important thing for the autonomous formations is that land and natural resources beneath the lands have finally been secured for the peoples living on a given territory. That is, there are now legal foundations for ending the arbitrary rule of the departments on our lands. Henceforth, under the law, offering the land of autonomous formations for state needs will occur only if so agreed. We have in fact become masters of our own land.

[T.A. Minnullin] With respect to relations with other parliamentary formations, they do exist and are being maintained. For example, with the "Soyuz" group and with the "agrarians," and our positions coincide with those of the interregional group on a number of issues.

The main difficulty in the work is that we sometimes literally have to try hard just to be heard. We also have to deal with an inertia in thinking: some people regard us as nationalists even though our views have nothing in common with nationalism. For it is a question of the well-being and prosperity of all the peoples living in the autonomous formations, including the Russians. There are almost 11 million of them in the autonomous formations and equally with the indigenous populations they experience the same difficulties with the imperfections of our administrative-territorial arrangement.

Not everything is going smoothly in the work of the group itself; there is interference from what one might call a certain narrowness in the world outlook of a number of the deputy "managers." In our group, and indeed in others, they are sometimes concerned only with economic problems rather than global ones—political, ethical. In general some people still hold the view that a deputy is some kind of "fixer." For example, I personally have heard the following in my homeland:

"Well, deputy, can you not get us a car for a disabled person?" This is not the point; we are a parliament not a goodwill service.

[V.G. Ardzinba] One of the main tasks for the country's parliament is to establish businesslike relations with the local authorities so that it does have to become involved in the problems of the moment. Parliament's task is to devise a moral and humane policy that fully meets the needs of our country's peoples. We have many proposals in preparation on renewing the Union treaty. If our opinions are not taken into consideration it means that the deputies in our group cannot be considered parliamentarians, for who apart from us will defend the interests of our peoples?

[V.P. Larionov] In conclusion I would like to add that, unfortunately, very often we have to deal with facts after the event, with the consequences rather than the causes of a phenomenon. This is a mistake that often stems from our inability to work as parliamentarians. There is no need to expect conflicts, and already people no longer believe the promises. But it is impossible to take hasty and ill-considered steps. It is necessary to shape policy today, now, on the basis of democratic respect for the individual and his people. I would put it thus: the individual with all his problems should become the thing that is paramount in our state policy. Society will be moral and humane only when we stop dividing problems and peoples into the categories of large and small.

RSFSR Official on Measures for Refugees

90US0806A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 15 Apr 90 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with L. A. Gorshkov, deputy chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers, by N. Garifullina: "A Topical Question: Aid to Refugees"]

[Text] The one short word hurts like a burn—"refugees!" During peacetime, almost a half-century after the most terrible war in history, thousands of people have been forced to leave their homes and their jobs. What lies ahead?

An RSFSR Council of Ministers decree created a commission to render assistance to citizens who had been forced to leave Azerbaijan SSR. The commission is headed by L. A. Gorshkov, deputy chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers.

[A. Garifullina] Leonid Aleksandrovich, it is well known that the number of refugees in the country has already reached 600,000, a fourth of whom are situated on the territory of RSFSR. What are the government and your commission doing to resolve the problems for these people?

[L. Gorshkov] According to the most up-to-the-minute information, 86,000 persons, mostly Russians and Armenians, who were forced to leave Azerbaijan during the current year are living in 62 autonomous republics.

krays, and oblasts in RSFSR, chiefly in Stavropol and Krasnodar krays, and Rostov, Voronezh, Saratov, Kursk, and other oblasts. The most complicated situation today exists in the city of Moscow and in Moscow Oblast. Sixty thousand refugees have been registered there: 36,000 Russians, 17,000 Armenians, and 8000 persons born of mixed marriages.

Most of them have moved in with relatives and friends, or into hotels. Approximately 5300 persons have been housed in medical-treatment and recuperation institutions of USSR and RSFSR ministries and departments, of whom more than 4200 are in Moscow Oblast.

Every citizen who arrives is paid a lump-sum grant in the amount of 100 rubles per person, and needy individuals are given the opportunity to buy outer clothing, shoes, and other necessities of life on a noncash basis, by being issued coupons with a value of up to 200 rubles. A large amount of material aid was rendered to especially needy families by the USSR Red Cross and Red Crescent, the Soviet Peace Foundation, the Soviet Children's Foundation imeni V. I. Lenin, and the Soviet Charity and Health Foundation, by labor collectives at enterprises, and also by ordinary citizens.

[A. Garifullina] All that is true. But there is one substantial detail: people have been put in boarding homes and dispensaries until the middle of April...

[L. Gorshkov] I can say immediately that the period of people's stay in medical-treatment and recuperation institutions has been extended to 15 May. But, as you realize, this will not resolve the problem. We need fundamental, all-encompassing measures, and, naturally, they are being undertaken. A governmental refugee aid program is being developed, and within two months we are supposed to submit it to USSR Council of Ministers. Very serious claims are being leveled against the USSR and RSFSR governments, to the effect that we have delayed the resolution of this question. Actually, we worked for a long time on the USSR Council of Ministers decree, and finally, on 7 April, it was enacted. Within a few days the decree developed by the RSFSR government will also be signed.

[A. Garifullina] One of the most acute questions today is finding jobs for the refugees. For three months the people have been without work, and have been living only on the grant in aid, which was used up long ago.

[L. Gorshkov] The 7 April USSR Council of Ministers decree has specifically required the union ministries, RSFSR Sovmin [Council of Ministers], USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] and its agencies in the outlying areas to find jobs on a first-priority basis for citizens who were forced to leave Azerbaijan and Armenia and who are temporarily located in the city of Moscow and Moscow Oblast. They are to provide those citizens with permanent work at

enterprises, institutions, and organizations that are subordinate to them, and also to provide them with permanent or temporary housing (other than in the city of Moscow and Moscow Oblast) before 15 May.

This work is being carried out by the ministries and departments and the local agencies of authority. At the first stage, RSFSR Goskomtrud studied the vocational training and work experience of the able-bodied individuals among the family members of refugees living in the medical-treatment and recuperation institutions in Moscow Oblast. Lists prepared by branches have been sent to more than 70 ministries and departments to find jobs for citizens. So far, 6500 families have applied for this assistance; 1900 have already found jobs in the appropriate areas; and more than 450 are considering the proposed alternatives, including 150 who are considering work in agricultural production. These are among the refugees who are living in Moscow Oblast. I do not want to overburden the reader with figures, but this work is being carried out in all parts of RSFSR where the refugees have gone.

The USSR government recommends to the administrators of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, jointly with the councils of the labor collectives, that they make decisions concerning the rendering of lump-sum assistance to refugees in amounts from the three-month salary rates (occupational rates) at the new place of their permanent work.

[A. Garifullina] But, Leonid Aleksandrovich, from what sources will these funds come?

[L. Gorshkov] USSR Sovmin, by its decree, releases from payment for labor resources the enterprises, institutions, and organizations for the refugees who have been given jobs. This procedure is established for a period of up to five years.

[A. Garifullina] Nevertheless, the editorial office of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA receives pitiful letters in which the authors say "I have lived all my life in the city, and now I am being forced to go to the country."

[L. Gorshkov] That's where things become complicated. Urban dwellers constitute a considerable number of the refugees. Approximately one-third of them have higher or secondary special education. The difficulties are definitely tremendous, but even the departments sometimes take a formal attitude toward accepting people. According to information provided by RSFSR Goskomtrud, USSR Minelektromprom [Ministry of the Electronics Industry] sent workers in its branch to the lead association in the city of Zelenograd. But the association itself cannot offer anything, since its enterprises are located in other union republics. So the people get refusals. This same ministry sent refugees to Novgorod, Orel, Pskov, and Smolensk, and they returned with nothing: there is work there, but no housing. Unfortunately, it frequently happens that everything comes down specifically to the lack of housing.

[A. Garifullina] But how is the resolution of the housing problem being programmed in the union government's 7 April decree?

[L. Gorshkov] There are several alternatives here. RSFSR Sovmin and the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies on whose territory (other than the city of Moscow and Moscow Oblast) the refugees from Azerbaijan and Armenia are housed are now required to guarantee first of all the sale to those citizens in the established procedure of apartments taken from the state and public housing fund. Those citizens must be provided with plots of land for the building of individual homes, and must be given assistance in joining housing and housing-construction cooperatives.

[A. Garifullina] However, there have been complaints that people are being refused registration.

[L. Gorshkov] Yes, we also have been receiving statements like that. I can report that USSR Council of Ministers, by its decree, has required the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies to authorize the registration of citizens who were forced to leave Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR, at the place of their new residence, irrespective of the size of the housing area. USSR Sberbank [Savings Bank] and USSR Zhilsotsbank [Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development] are supposed to allocate for them, on a first-priority basis, credit for individual and housing construction, and for the purchase of homes and the providing of them with amenities. We realize that financing that is not reinforced by funds is not worth anything. This factor has also been taken into consideration: USSR Ministry of Trade and USSR Gosnab have been required to offer additional market allocations of building materials and articles for the individual construction of homes.

The decree also contains a statute that pertains to the exchanging of apartments: citizens who were forced to leave their permanent places of residence are authorized to exchange their own homes for state apartments.

[A. Garifullina] The situation in Baku in January was so critical that many people left the city in just the clothes they had on, leaving apartments and all their belongings behind. Naturally, people are worried about whether they will be compensated for this in any way.

[L. Gorshkov] Definitely. USSR Sovmin had instructed USSR Minfin [Ministry of Finance], Minyust [Ministry of Justice], MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and Goskomtrud, jointly with the governments of Azerbaijan and Armenia and other interested organizations, to determine the procedure for taking into consideration the housing facilities and other structures that belong to the refugees, and for evaluating the material damages and paying compensation to them. The government will pay compensation for the purchase of an apartment at the rate of 210 rubles per square meter of total area of the apartment left behind, but no more than 16 square meters per person. It is planned to employ these same

terms to redeem for the refugees the homes, apartments, and other structures that they were forced to leave behind, that belonged to them with rights of ownership. For example, dachas, summer-garden sheds, garages, and farm structures will be redeemed on the basis of the estimate standards for mandatory state insurance that are in effect in Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR as of 1 January 1990.

[A. Garifullina] When will the government begin to compensate the refugees for the expenditures required to purchase or construct housing in the new place of residence?

[L. Gorshkov] As soon as those refugees give up, in a written statement, their rights to the previous housing and other structures, and move to their place of permanent residence. I want to add that the government will compensate them for the value of farm animals, household property, plantings of fruits and vegetables, and passenger cars and other means of transportation—all of this is stipulated in the decree.

[A. Garifullina] And, of course, one more detail that is of no small importance: at whose expense will the compensation be made? Will everything fall on the shoulders of RSFSR?

[L. Gorshkov] The USSR government has expressed its opinion in a completely definite manner: inasmuch as the mass exodus from Armenia and Azerbaijan was inspired by illegal actions committed on their territory, the compensation of the material damages incurred by the citizens should be carried out at the expense of the budgets of those republics.

[A. Garifullina] Leonid Aleksandrovich, I would like to ask one more very fundamental question: exactly who are these refugees? There is no law governing refugees. Their status has not been defined...

[L. Gorshkov] That's what makes everything so difficult: who should be considered to be refugees? Those who were forced to leave their place of residence after 1 January, as was stated in the first decree, that was enacted hot on the heels of the events? If yes, then until how long? Now the first migrants from the Baltic republics have also appeared. Inasmuch as the situation in the ethnic relations is unstable and the 600,000 refugees who already exist might be joined tomorrow by thousands of new ones, USSR Supreme Soviet is supposed to develop on an urgent basis a draft governing refugees, which will not only contain a definition of the status of refugee, but also will establish firmly the legal responsibility borne by the union republic to each individual.

[A. Garifullina] Until now, we have been discussing how the refugees's problems at their new place of residence will be resolved. Do you foresee any possibility of their returning home?

[L. Gorshkov] This is a two-sided problem: at the present time, when the situation in Baku is returning to normal,

it is necessary to work to help the population to return home. Recently, a letter addressed to A. V. Vlasov, chairman of RSFSR Council of Ministers, arrived, bearing the signature of A. Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, and G. Gasanov, chairman of AzSSR Council of Ministers. The comrades reported to us concerning the steps being taken to stabilize the situation in the republic's cities and rayons, to bring to criminal responsibility the active participants in the riots and the crimes committed on interethnic grounds, to create conditions for the population's normal work and everyday life, and to provide for the return of the Russian-speaking population to the republic and the stopping of their unjustified departure.

[A. Garifullina] But people are afraid that there will be repetitions of the January events. Is there any guarantee for their security in Azerbaijan?

[L. Gorshkov] This guarantee is provided by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and the AzSSR Council of Ministers in their joint decree of 29 March 1990. That decree states that the republic is taking steps to stabilize the situation, to reduce the social and interethnic tension, and to create guarantees for the citizens' security.

A group of administrative workers from Azerbaijan SSR visited Moscow. Many of them traveled to boarding

homes in the Moscow suburbs and met with the refugees. It turned out that the people had been completely uninformed about the steps being taken by the republic leadership to stabilize the situation in Baku or about the real situation in the city. We decided at that time to send a group of workers from RSFSR Goskomtrud on a temporary-duty assignment to Baku. There were frank meetings in the labor collectives, schools, and Russian-speaking families. People everywhere expressed their profound regret concerning what had happened and their burning self-interest in assuring that the refugees return as quickly as possible to their collectives, where people are waiting for them. On the basis of an understanding between the two republics, for the prompt resolution of the refugees' problems, a permanent group from RSFSR Goskomtrud will operate under the Baku City ispolkom, and a group of people from Baku will work under the permanent representation of Azerbaijan SSR in Moscow. We need the efforts of all sides. We need joint work, but, most importantly, we need the desire and patience. And the decision that the refugees make, as well as their ability to waive their indignation and move ahead from what they have undergone—doing so in the name of restoring friendship and brotherhood—will also determine to no small degree the fate of the home that we share in common.

Resolution on Azerbaijan Party Congress

90US0816A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY in Russian
4 Apr 90 p 1

[Resolution of the Plenum of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee: "On the Convocation of the Regular 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, the Rendering of Reports and Conduct of Elections in Republic Party Organizations, the Norm of Representation, and Procedure for Electing Delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and the 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party"]

[Text] 1. To convene the regular 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party on 8 June 1990 in the city of Baku, in the Palace imeni V.I. Lenin.

2. To introduce the following issues for consideration by the congress:

- the course of perestroika and tasks of the Azerbaijan Communist Party; the report of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, to be delivered by Comrade A.N. Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee.
- the report of the Azerbaijan CP Auditing Commission, to be delivered by Comrade M.Ya. Kazniyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan CP Auditing Commission.
- the draft Platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th CPSU Congress "Towards Humane, Democratic Socialism."
- draft CPSU Statutes.
- elections of leading organs of the Azerbaijan Communist Party.
- elections of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress.

It is considered advisable that matters related to the draft Platform of the CPSU Central Committee and draft CPSU Statutes be set forth in the report on the first issue.

3. To establish the norm of representation to the 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party as one delegate per 400 party members.

4. To adopt resolutions on the procedure for electing delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, as drawn up by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Commission on Matters of Party Structuring and Personnel Policy, in accordance with the decisions of the March (1990) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

To form a commission of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee which will monitor observance of established procedure for nominating candidates as delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress, summarize proposals received, and formulate a list of candidates for delegates

to the Congress nominated in the primary party organizations and supported by rayon and city party conferences.

Elections of delegates to the 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party from the Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh oblast party organizations, and Baku and Gyandzha city party organizations, are to be conducted at rayon party conferences (and also at city party conferences in the Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast).

5. To conduct the reporting and election campaign which precedes the 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party as follows: meetings in party groups, meetings and conferences in shop and primary party organizations to be held in April; rayon, city, and oblast party conferences—in April and May of 1990.

With respect to elections of delegates to party conferences and elections of leading party organs prior to adoption of the new CPSU statutes, to be guided by the provisions of the resolution of the March (1990) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The republic organizational committee for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast will develop, jointly with the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro, the procedure for rendering reports and conducting elections in the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast party organization.

6. To thoroughly and comprehensively examine, at reports and election meetings and conferences, the state of affairs in party organizations and measures for radically improving work style and methods; to discuss the draft Platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Party Congress and draft CPSU Statutes. It is necessary that the collective discussion and interpretation of practical work and pressing issues which takes place during the course of the reports and elections be utilized to the maximum possible extent to reinforce all the organizational and political work conducted among the masses and facilitate the further democratization of all intra-party life.

The oblast party committee, city and rayon party committees, will aim their preparation for the 28th CPSU Congress and 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party at further enhancing the activity of communists; they will provide the opportunity to all party members of exerting real influence in the formation of party policy and the elections of all its leading organs right up to Central Committee; and will significantly renovate the entire arsenal of their work forms and methods, taking into account the experience of perestroika in the republic and those realities and particularities which have taken shape in our society. They will orient the primary party organizations towards thoroughly knowing the moods of the people and taking this knowledge into consideration, undertaking bold and immediate measures to eliminate deficiencies developing the initiative of communists, and augmenting

their responsibility for the state of affairs in their collective, rayon, city, oblast, and republic.

7. To prescribe that oblast, city, and rayon party conferences submit to the 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party proposals on candidacies to positions of membership in the ruling organs of the republic Communist Party, taking into account the views of the party organizations.

8. To charge the Bureau of the Central Committee with work related to preparation for the 28th CPSU Congress and 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party; to accomplish this work with the broad participation of members and candidate members of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, and of the active party membership from the localities, in an atmosphere of openness and glasnost. It is considered advisable to establish commissions (groups) from delegates elected at the 32d Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party for the purpose of preparing the basic materials for the Congress.

Georgian CP Concept of National Development

90US0666A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian

21 Feb 90 p 1-3

[General Plan of the Georgian CP for the National Development of Georgia as adopted at a plenum of the Georgian CP Central Committee on 31 January 1990]

[Text] Our republic has achieved significant results in the development of the economy, the social sphere, education, science and culture, as well as in raising the prosperity of the people.

At the same time, it must be said with all principledness that the irreversible processes of perestroika have brought out and disclosed all those serious shortcomings which have built up over the decades, when society was managed by command-bureaucratic methods, as well as during the period of stagnation.

A severe situation has developed in the economy and without a fundamental restructuring, without a decisive subordination of it to the interests of the people, it is impossible to even dream of progress. The vitally important needs of the people as yet are not being fully satisfied. The existing economic mechanism does not properly take into account the incentives needed for fruitful and highly productive labor, and all the diversity of the human factor and social values is underestimated. Serious moral deviations can be felt in many spheres. Interethnic relations have become exacerbated.

In the period of the restructuring of all the activities of the party, like all our present-day life which is full of contradictions, dynamism, social and civil activeness of the broad masses, a routine, dogmatic approach to the problems of national state development must be decisively rejected. Democratization and glasnost have given the national self-awareness of the people a new and completely natural stimulus for growth.

The CPSU platform on party nationality policy as adopted at the September (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee correctly points out that in resolving these very complex questions there can be no pat formulas suitable for all the regions of the nation and for all cases of life and that nationality policy is an ongoing creation and a consideration of the real dialectics of vital processes.

For precisely this reason, the Georgian CP Central Committee considers it essential that in the sphere of national development the republic party organization have its own clearly formulated position and completely balanced general plan ["kontsepsiya"]; this will serve as the basis of an action program in the future and unite all strata of society on a complex path of national development.

In the general plan of national development, a particular, priority place has been assigned to such important questions as national state development of the republic, the achieving of its full sovereignty, its transformation into a state under the law, the deepening of glasnost and democratization in all spheres of life, a qualitative improvement in the economy and economic relations, the strengthening of foreign economic ties, the improving of the social sphere and social relations, the bettering of the demographic and ecological situation, the development of public education, science and culture, the improving of interethnic relations, consideration of the interests and rights of the autonomous formations and the representatives of all peoples residing in the republic, a profound restructuring of party work at the present stage and so forth.

1. National State Development

1.1. The desire for national freedom and state independence is a sacred right and the highest moral duty of each civilized people. Precisely this aspiration above all expresses the degree of national self-awareness of a people and their intellectual capabilities. The Georgian people over all their centuries-long history, have invested colossal energy, force and ability in an unrelenting struggle for freedom, independence, for the maintaining of national uniqueness and territorial integrity of the homeland. The Georgian CP, in completely considering the history, national character and ideals of the Georgian people, has based the general plan for the republic's national development on the principles of their national self-awareness expressed in a desire for freedom, considering as their higher goal and task the greater prosperity of the people and ensuring their complete political, economic and cultural self-determination:

1.2. The state sovereignty of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic is expressed chiefly in the maintaining of its territorial integrity and inviolability of state frontiers. An inalienable part of Georgia is the autonomous formations established on its territory including the Abkhazian and Adzhar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

Within the limits of the current constitution, the Georgian GSSR independently runs its own internal affairs, without allowing encroachment either on its sovereign rights as a whole or on the interests of the autonomous formations comprising it or the interference of external force into their domestic affairs.

1.3. The general plan of national development, in adhering to the principle of succession and relying firmly on the historical experience of our people in the area of national state construction, should fill in the "blank spots" existing in national historiography, objectively resurrect the complete historical truth and pay proper due to the historical memory of the people. For example, we should widely celebrate each year the day of 26 May 1918 as one of the noteworthy dates in the history of Georgia, the day of the restoring of its statehood. Objective assessments have been provided for the violating of the peace treaty between Russia and Georgia of 7 May 1920 and the circumstances for the establishing of Soviet power in Georgia on 25 February 1921. This has justly concerned the broad public. An equally principled assessment must be given for the activities of the government of the Georgian Democratic Republic in 1918-1921 in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres and for the relations between Soviet Russia and Georgia during this same period.

With the active participation of specialists and representatives from the various strata of society, in being guided by the principles of an historical approach and scientific objectivity, the questions of national symbols must be reviewed and resolved;

1.4. The main goal of the general plan is to improve the prosperity of the people and, as the appropriate political and socioeconomic conditions mature, to achieve by legal means the complete sovereignty of the republic. This should be expressed in the gradual transition from real federalism in a union of sovereign Soviet republics to higher, more advanced forms of statehood. This conforms fully to the instructions of V.I. Lenin that "...we must leave the way open so that as a result of all this work at the next Congress of Soviets we can go back, that is, leave the union of Soviet socialist republics only in military and diplomatic terms...." (V.I. Lenin, PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, pp 361-362). This is the high road of the republic to further political, economic and sociocultural ascent, to developing the productive forces, to raising the labor, sociopolitical and creative activeness of the public and to the moral improvement of all society.

1.5. In accord with the set goals we must implement an ordered system of political and organizational measures in order, considering the present-day objective realities and ensuring the full sovereign rights of the Union republics, to conclude among them a new union treaty on their unification within the USSR. In accord with the new document which regulates relations between the Union and republic superior governing bodies, the supreme governing bodies of Georgia, on the principles

of equality, are to establish relations with the superior governing bodies of the USSR on the questions of defense and foreign policy, the establishing of a Union-wide system of material, financial, insurance and other resources in the event of emergency situations and for solving other problems which are most important for the entire country;

1.6. All the national wealth on the territory of the republic including land, underground mineral wealth, inland and territorial waters, the sea shelf, forests as well as enterprises of the varying national economic sectors, housing and so forth, and whatever their forms of ownership, are the exclusive property of the republic and only it has the right to dispose of them;

1.7. With the involvement of the broad circles of public, the appropriate measures are being taken to convert the republic into a state under the law. New democratic election laws have been adopted. A new Georgian Constitution is being worked out along with other fundamental legislative enactments. We have yet to clearly distinguish the functions of legislative, executive and law enforcement powers as well as those of the party and soviet bodies and social organizations. The positive processes occurring in the domestic life of the republic and international relations will be completely taken into account.

1.8. Constitutional and legislative activities are improving qualitatively. With complete consideration of the republic's sovereign rights, the appropriate articles of the Georgian Constitution have already defined the legal conditions for the withdrawal of the GSSR from the USSR as well as the procedure of action for Soviet laws on the republic's territory. Work is also being continued on solving such important questions as settling immigration processes, the undergoing of obligatory military service by inductees considering their demand on republic territory, the organizing of national troop formations, a fundamental improvement in legislation on land tenure and so forth;

1.9. In accord with the course of democratization, the processes of the decentralization and demonopolization of power are to be further extended. In all spheres of social life, the struggle is to be intensified against the departmental and production dictating of terms and against autocracy. Particular attention will be given to democratizing the administrative and planning bodies and to instituting real control over their work by the public;

1.10. In the general plan the question will be settled of determining and actually realizing the status of Georgian citizenship which would fully take into account the interests of the other peoples who traditionally live in the republic. The introduction of the status of republic citizenship will be one of the significant steps along the way to achieving complete sovereignty by the public and to improving the demographic situation, and this will

also contribute to a respectful attitude toward the language, history, culture and traditions of the indigenous population as well as to the even greater coordination and balancing of interests of the indigenous inhabitants and people of other nationalities residing in Georgia;

1.11. The appropriate measures will be carried out to broaden the foreign political, economic and cultural ties of the republic both on the level of state relations as well as through developing contacts between individual enterprises, scientific research, educational and other institutions, sociopolitical organizations, ministries and departments. At the same time, practical steps will be taken to establish agencies of the GSSR in foreign countries which have historically maintained close ties with Georgia and for bringing the republic membership in various international organizations, including, as the necessary conditions are created, as a member of the United Nations.

2. The Economy: Economic Relations

2.1. The most important basis for the sovereignty of Georgia, as an independent state, is its economic independence which will be based upon the declaring of all national wealth as national property. Gradually the appropriate measures will be carried out aimed at turning over the facilities of the national economy, public health, tourism, resort and other facilities located on Georgian territory and owned by various Union departments to the republic and the utilization of these in accord with the republic's economic interests. All of this will provide an opportunity for the GSSR to become the sole owner and disposer of the entire economy located on the republic's territory as well as independently work out and implement its own policy of economic, social, ecological and demographic development and resolve all questions of economic relations with the Union bodies, the Union republics and foreign countries.

2.2. In accord with the general plan, all forms of property will be developed in the republic on equal principles: state property of the GSSR, cooperative property and the property of social organizations, personal and private property as well as common property. Freedom of entrepreneurship will be guaranteed. Any form of ownership should contribute to increased economic, social, intellectual and moral potential of all society and to the complete and free development of the individual. All forms of property without exception will be protected equally by the state. Ownership relations will be governed by the corresponding legislation of the GSSR as well as on contractual bases;

2.3. The GSSR will participate in the all-Union national economic complex on the basis of economic contracts concluded with the Union organizations and the Union republics. Relations with the Union bodies and the Union republics will be based on principles of economic

independence, equality and mutual benefit. The Georgian enterprises and organizations on a basis of equivalent exchange will establish relations with the appropriate partners in the Union republics; at the same time, in order to avoid a deficit, control must be established over the range and quantity of products shipped out of the republic.

A most important condition for the successful functioning of the republic economy is participation in the unified Union-wide market and the establishing of direct ties with foreign countries by building joint enterprises, as well as the greatest possible expansion of trade and tourism, scientific-technical and cultural collaboration;

2.4. A material prerequisite for the republic's economic independence is the greatest possible intensification of the economy with a substantial increase in production efficiency on all levels of management, and an ongoing rise in production, scientific-technical and intellectual potential. National economic policy considers not only the natural geographic conditions of the GSSR but also the historical-psychological factors, the specific features of public consumption, national traditions and the character of the people. This should significantly encourage increased labor productivity, the output of high-quality products which can compete on the international market and this, in turn, will help in the active involvement of Georgia in international economic turnover;

2.5. The general plan is based on a profound conviction that the natural, labor, production-economic and scientific-technical potential of the republic, in the event of its efficient use and gradual multiplication, will create conditions for carrying out the tasks of increasing the standard of living of the population and all sociocultural development. For this reason the chief purpose of the material production sphere should be to provide the republic inhabitants with food products and nonfood commodities on a level of the physiological and scientifically based rational consumption standards. At the same time, the development of production should create a material base for economically mutually advantageous trade and other types of economic and commercial relations with the Union bodies, the Union republics and foreign countries.

2.6. It is essential to examine thoroughly the natural, production-economic and scientific-technical potential of the republic, to analyze and improve scientifically the sectorial structure of the economy, the effectiveness of the territorial placement of the productive forces, inter-republic and foreign economic ties as well as the prospects of their development. A further broadening of material production should be carried out on the basis of the predominant growth of those sectors where the republic has favorable natural and economic conditions for their development. These are agriculture and the industry involved in processing its raw materials, electric power, electronics and computers, instrument building and the nonmaterial-intensive sectors of machine building which require skilled manpower, the building

materials industry and others. Priority should also be given to the development of the nonproduction sphere and to the sectors of the social and production infrastructure.

2.7. The dictating of terms by the ministries and departments in the economic and production sphere should be halted. The enterprises and organizations will operate independently, in being guided by considerations of economic advisability and business advantage. No one will have the right to apply pressure to their activities using unjustified, noneconomic methods. The interests of satisfying the requirements of production and the personal needs of the public will be given priority. In order to avoid certain negative socioeconomic consequences from the functioning of a free market, the appropriate legislative guarantees will be introduced. A general scheme for the managing of the republic economy will be worked out and this will replace the practice of Union and Union-republic subordination of the sectors and enterprises as well as the intermediate economic management units. The right of managing defense industry enterprises on a contractual basis will remain the competence of the USSR government. Along with this, the enterprises in the given sector will take an active part in producing consumer goods for the republic public. For this purpose a portion of the production capacity will be employed, the specialization of certain enterprises will be changed or specialized types of production will be opened up.

All enterprises and organizations located on the territory of the GSSR should be subject to republic jurisdiction;

2.8. All economic policy in the countryside will be based on the assumption that land in perpetual use with the rights of inheritance must be actually returned to the peasant who works it. Measures will be carried out to sharply intensify agricultural production, to introduce modern achievements and progressive technology as well as widely develop large agroindustrial enterprises, agricultural firms and combines. In the mountain zone and in abandoned villages peasant farms and their associations will be rapidly organized. Here, depending upon the specific conditions, the producers themselves will select the most effective forms of farming. An end will be put to the imposing of terms from above, no matter from what management level this might derive. We must seek out and introduce effective means for encouraging the producers considering the interests of the consumers. At the same time, due to the extremely limited land available, the difficult demographic situation in the republic, the flagrant violations of the land tenure rules and the presence of other important problems, we must substantially improve the land legislation of Georgia;

2.9. For forming the productive forces based on the recent achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the republic will carry out a unified scientific-technical policy, it will independently determine the promising and priority areas of scientific research, and will shape a national system for introducing technical

innovations and inventions into the economy as well as for the sale of licenses abroad. Moreover, on the basis of the republic foreign exchange deductions, foreign capital and other sources, a republic innovation fund will be established;

2.10. In the economic sphere, a national structural policy will be consistently carried out and this should provide for the elimination of the deformations and disproportions which arose as a result of the extended impact of the administrative-command system on the republic economy. In particular, due to the increased industrial level of the economy, to the rational placement of enterprises, to conversion and the changing of specialties, to the rational specialization of the agroindustrial complex and to other measures, the effectiveness of accumulation will be substantially increased;

2.11. A flexible investment policy will be worked out and implemented and this will provide a correct determining of the directions and volumes of capital investments by optimizing the proportions between the consumption of national income and the accumulation funds, in thoroughly considering the economic, social, demographic and ecological tasks. The planning and management of all construction and investment activities will be completely within the competence of the republic. The appropriate normative specifications will be established on the spot, expert evaluations will be made and in the event of necessity, investment payments will be set;

2.12. In considering the economic uniqueness of the republic, unified independent budgetary, tax and banking-credit systems of the GSSR will be organized. The budgets of the republic, the autonomous formations and administrative units will be independent of one another.

In contrast to the current procedure, all budget income formed on the territory of the republic and a portion of which is presently paid to the Union budget will go to the budgets of the GSSR, the autonomous republics and the local soviets. At the same time, for financing the defense of the USSR, for foreign political ties, for carrying out interrepublic scientific and technical programs and for other analogous Union-wide needs, the republic will pay the appropriate funds to the Union budget on the basis of mutually agreed upon rates.

Taxation will be carried out on the basis of GSSR legislation. The soviets will be given the right to set various local payments. The competence of the republic also includes the introduction of its own monetary unit in the event of necessity;

2.13. The powers of the GSSR government include the elaboration and implementation of a unified state price formation policy. This should completely eliminate the expenditure mechanism currently existing in price formation, it should bring prices (rates) closer to the socially necessary expenditures, set a correct ratio between supply and demand and take into account the level and dynamics of prices on the world market;

2.14. A component part of the general plan is a national regional economic policy which on the basis of the principles of self-management, cost accounting, self-financing and the covering of costs should ensure the balanced socioeconomic and cultural development of the autonomous formations and all administrative-territorial units considering the natural-economic conditions, the historical traditions and the economic specialization of each region, as well as the interests of the indigenous and other nationalities living on the given territory. Preferential conditions for economic development and social guarantees for the population will be set for the mountainous zones as well as those which have particularly suffered in demographic and ecological terms;

2.15. The general plan in the area of raising the economy to a qualitatively new level gives particular importance to a fundamental rise in the labor efficiency of the population, their skills, competence and professionalism, as well as to developing a sense of being the complete master and executor. A modern economy cannot exist without a dedicated, highly skilled and highly organized working class, peasantry, specialists and scientists. These demands should be faced by the entire system of training, advanced training and retraining of employees as well as material and moral incentives for the workers.

3. The Social Sphere. Social Relations

3.1. A bad situation has developed in the social sphere, social relations have become exacerbated, the standard of living has not improved, social inequality has deepened, and it has not been possible to eliminate inflationary processes and the shortage of consumer goods. There is also the urgent task of supplying the public with food, various types of paid services and, most importantly, housing. The levels of social security, public health, education and other infrastructure sectors are not satisfying the systematically rising needs of the public. The number of infractions of the law is increasing; the consolidation of healthy forces in society is still weak, national energy has not been completely activated, and the intellectual possibilities of the people and the human factor are being employed unsatisfactorily. The disassembly of the administrative-command system has not been completed and this is incompatible with democratization and national interests. An effective socioeconomic motivational mechanism has not been found;

3.2. The carrying out of the general plan should help to overcome these complex and dangerous negative trends. The republic economy and all its sectors must decisively face up to carrying out social tasks and create reliable economic guarantees for increasing the standard of living of the indigenous population. At the same time, the interests of the representatives of other peoples residing in the republic should not be infringed. We must more actively disclose and put to work the material prerequisites for solving social problems; it is essential to provide an optimum balance between social guarantees

and economic incentives, responsibility of the individual to the state and the state to the individual.

We must better coordinate the social interests of society, the collective and the individual, and the interests of the basic social groups must be more fully considered. In all spheres of social relations, it is essential to observe unswervingly the principle of social justice;

3.3. The general plan poses the task of achieving relations between the state, society and the individual which, regardless of nationality or ideology and on the basis of constitutional and legislative enactments, would create for each Georgian citizen strong guarantees of actual equality, social protection, the inviolability of the individual and his property as well as the use of other democratic rights and liberties. No legislative enactment involving social relations will be adopted without a preliminary discussion by the broad public. Here maximum consideration will be given to the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and other international documents on the given question.

In solving social questions, like other urgent social problems, it is inadmissible to resort to force, threats and opposition. The only acceptable way for resolving any disputed questions is the constitutional and political forms, as well as a healthy exchange of opinions and a constructive, sincere dialogue. The guarantee for the irreversibility of democratization and glasnost in social life is the strengthening of discipline and order in each labor collective, at each work site and as a whole throughout the republic, the respect of law and legality and the instilling of high legal awareness in the public;

3.4. From the viewpoint of observing social justice, it is essential to abandon the practice of dividing the personnel into the nomenklatura and nonnomenklatura workers. The sole criterion for their recruitment and promotion must be professional competence, personal professional qualities, the civil position and moral purity;

3.5. For ensuring the primacy of social criteria in economic development, it is essential to carry out such important tasks as working out and implementing socially just variations for the pace and proportions of economic development, complete resource support for social programs, strengthening the social orientation of developing all sectors of the economy, democratizing the structure of the economic mechanism with the broader consideration of nationality and individual interests in it. All of this must provide a unity in social and economic policy, the overcoming of a one-sided, technocratic approach to economic growth and the thrifty use of material and natural resources;

3.6. The general plan proclaims as a most important task the forming of an ordered system of job motivation, the creating of a motivational mechanism and labor morale which would make it possible to most fully activate national energy and focus it primarily on solving social problems. This should provide a rise in the authority of

labor and its stimulating function, the overcoming of wage leveling, a profound qualitative transformation of the content of labor, the thwarting of illegal spheres of labor activity and the closing down of illegal channels for earning income;

3.7. Fundamental importance is given to the creation and development of a highly efficient system of social guarantees. Each autonomous formation and region will establish and set in the appropriate enforceable enactments a base level for satisfying the material, social and cultural needs of the public. For each Georgian citizen this will create a guarantee for an income not lower than the minimum wage.

Here particular attention will be paid to protecting the rights of the family, the mother and child and other nonworking family members. There will be a substantial improvement in the social and material support for the elderly, pensioners, large families, single citizens, the disabled and orphans.

A system of state limitations and benefits should create guarantees for observing consumer interests. For this purpose, measures will be actively carried out to ensure a high quality of the goods and control over them, to compensate for the rise in the cost of living, for setting maximum prices on vital necessities and so forth.

The trade unions and other worker associations will actively employ their increased powers to protect the material and social interests of the labor collectives and each member of them as well as for observing other rights;

8. It is considered ill-advised to set on a directive basis the maximum and minimum wage limits in the republic. Moreover, with the broad involvement of the public, the authorities should create production-economic and social conditions whereby the minimum wage at least corresponds to the level provided by the minimum wage. Measures will be carried out to provide jobs for citizens considering their interests and professional training, and social guarantees have been provided in the event of unemployment.

3.9. A rise in the people's spiritual potential to a significant degree depends upon their physical health. Particular attention, along with a qualitative restructuring of public health, will be given to the physical conditioning of the population and primarily of the youth, to developing a mass physical culture movement and to augmenting the world-renowned traditions of Georgian sports. For this purpose, in the autonomous formations and in each town and rayon, an extensive network of athletic fields and facilities will be established. Subsequently, in international meets and in the Olympic Games, republic athletes should represent both the Soviet Union and the GSSR directly. For this work is being widely developed to ensure the independent participation of the republic in various competitions along with the social and international sports federations and Olympic committees;

3.10. For carrying out social measures, an extensive financial base will be established. The republic and local budgets as well as the public consumption funds will be the source of financing social policy in the GSSR. For this purpose, funds of the enterprises, institutions and public will actively be attracted. The money allocated by the enterprises for sociocultural development will be taxed on preferential bases or will be completely free of taxation. The basic level of the corresponding social standards in the republic towns and rayons will be met from the republic and local budgets, as well as drawing from funds transferred to the consolidated public budgets of the republic towns and rayons by enterprises, institutions, public organizations, funds and individual citizens and employed by the executive committees of the corresponding soviets according to their specific purpose.

4. Demographic and Ecological Situation

4.1. For successfully carrying out the general plan of very important, fundamental significance are the elaboration and planned implementation of an active national-state demographic policy. On this matter there can be no delay, red tape or complacency. Practical steps are needed as well as a transition from words to deeds.

Over the last three decades in the republic the natural increase in the population has declined by one-half and this has been due to the drop in the birthrate and the increased death rate. The level of the death rate among neonates causes concern, there is a high share of persons who do not get married as well as a high indicator of childlessness. Also making themselves felt are the negative migrational processes. Many villages are growing older and becoming empty. Racha-Luchkhumi, Tusheti, Khevi, Pshav-Khevsureti and other alpine regions are depopulated and there is also depopulation in many other rayons. In Kvemo-Kartli and Samtskhe-Dzhavakheti as well as in certain other regions, the indigenous population is a minority. A difficult situation has arisen in the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, where the indigenous nationalities make up only 60 percent of the entire population.

4.2. A national demographic policy must underlie an elaboration and implementation of a long-range comprehensive program of expanded reproduction for the republic's indigenous population. Its main directions should be accelerating the increase rate and raising the share of the indigenous nationality in the total number of the population as well as carrying out a differentiated internal republic (regional, rayon) demographic policy. The measures being implemented in the given area should make complete provision for a maximum improvement in the conditions of the socioeconomic development in the regions of a low birthrate and depopulation, provide a substantial improvement in the settlement of the indigenous population over the entire territory of the republic and particularly in the alpine regions, Kvemo-Kartli and Samtskhe-Dzhavakheti.

In the aim of a consistent and planned implementation of demographic policy on the state level, in the current and long-range state plans for the republic's economic and social development, a special section must be provided on "Demography":

4.3. For consistently implementing the course for a national demographic policy, extensive use must be made of the corresponding means of economic, administrative-legal and sociopsychological action. The state budget should set the funds for demographic investments, as well as establish the corresponding legal standards. We must encourage in every possible way and assist actively in carrying out any professional initiative by the party, soviet and economic bodies, the labor collectives, the social organizations and individuals. The mass information media must conduct extensive educational and explanatory work to improve the demographic situation, they must assist in every possible way in developing among the young people the need to establish large families, in increasing the social prestige of such families and developing good works for improving their material situation;

4.4. The carrying out of a demographic policy in the republic should create favorable conditions for solving such pressing and vitally important questions as:

- Increasing the birthrate generally and chiefly among women engaged in social production so that the families of persons of indigenous nationality have an average of three children; providing a maximum amount of material aid in the birth of a third and fourth child;
- Establishing monthly material assistance for young poorly-off families and single mothers and paid by the local soviets, the enterprises and institutions, the national demographic fund and other social organizations;
- Create necessary conditions so that the performing of maternal and family functions by the woman can be rationally combined with her involvement in social production. For this purpose, women must be completely freed from harmful and heavy jobs as well as nighttime work; in addition, preferential working hours must be widely introduced and other measures carried out;
- The significant development and rationalization of the domestic services network, an improvement in the quality of its operations and the complete supply of the public with modern household equipment;
- A substantial expansion of the network of schools and extended-day groups and preschool institutions in order to fully satisfy the requirements of the public for such facilities;

—Monthly material assistance for large families directly at the enterprises and organizations in the form of wage surpayments, the setting of maximum salaries and so forth;

—The elaboration and realization of a system of economic and social measures to strengthen young families, including the introduction for them of benefits in allocating state housing as well as the granting to them of easy-term state loans for cooperative and individual housing construction, and the greatest possible support of student families. This same system should include measures to encourage marriage;

—Activating pedagogical and educational work to raise family and domestic life;

—The elaboration of a system of effective medical-sanitary, prophylactic and other measures, ensuring its effective functioning in the aims of sharply reducing the mortality rate among the population and particularly in children under a year, increasing average life expectancy, overcoming harmful social and demographic consequences and eliminating the factors involving more frequent instances of illness, alcoholism, drug addiction, car accidents and assaults on the life of people, particularly the young;

4.5. In the aim of controlling migration processes, it is essential:

- To have a fundamental improvement in the development and placement of the productive forces so that as a whole for the republic as well as in the autonomous formations the expansion of production would be aimed solely at the use and full employment of local labor resources as well as at the expected intense release of the labor force under the new management conditions;
- Due to the small amount of land and the sufficiency of local labor resources there is to be a substantial limitation and actual halting of bringing in labor resources from outside the republic to satisfy the needs of the national economy for manpower;
- In the aim of optimizing the migration processes in the small- and medium-sized cities and the large rural settlements, to set up profitable, ecologically clean both industrial and other enterprises as well as domestic service facilities; to a definite degree this will slow down the loss of population to the large industrial centers and outside the republic. For this same purpose, economic and administrative sanctions should be applied in the large cities. In the aim of aiding the migration of the population from the cities to rural localities, an extensive network of material and social incentives should be introduced;
- The restoring of abandoned villages and the consolidating of underpopulated ones, as well as the founding of new settlements. For this measures are to be carried

out for the organized attracting of inhabitants from overpopulated and land-poor areas;

- Accelerated development of peasant farms which will help retain and increase the population in rural localities, particularly in the villages of the mountain zone;

4.6. In the course of working out and actually implementing both the nationwide as well as a regional differentiated demographic policy, maximum consideration will be given to the interests and rights of the population in the autonomous formations and other regions and primarily the indigenous nationalities;

4.7. An effective demographic policy will be based on the accelerated development of demographic science in the republic and the broadening of scientific research in this area, and the planned training and retraining of demographic specialists in the leading educational and scientific research centers of Georgia as well as the Union republics and foreign countries;

4.8. One of the most urgent and immediate problems is a substantial improvement in the ecological situation existing in the republic towns and rural rayons and the implementing of fundamental measures to protect nature. The realization of an effective ecological policy should ensure rational utilization of nature and a heightened level of ecological thinking in all society. The production and economic activities should not harm the health of people. For the Georgia of the future and for our successors we should protect the unique flora and fauna, the azure Black Sea coast, the nurturing land, the vitalizing air and clean waters. For this purpose, we must work out and implement a long-range state program for the preservation and rational utilization of the land of the GSSR as well as the environment and natural resources;

4.9. Extensive state and social support must be given to any initiative directed at a fundamental improvement in the ecological situation. It is essential to make active use of the guarantees stipulated in the Constitution and legislation in the sphere of conservation as well as harden the demands on the setting and observing of the normative parameters. Criminal liability must be strengthened for violating the ecological equilibrium, and the right of an ecological veto must be introduced and actively utilized in the event that the adopting of one or another economic or technical decision would harm nature and the health of people; acceptable alternatives must be actively sought out for the projects planned for implementation;

4.10. Methodically and intensely, relying on a sound scientific base, we must resolve such important questions from the viewpoint of improving the utilization of nature as:

- Accelerating the transition of the national economy to ecologically safe, low-waste and waste-free production methods;

- The elaboration and introduction of an effective system of scientifically and practically sound ecological expert evaluation of plans for the construction, expansion and reconstruction of national economic facilities; ecological inspection of operating enterprises; the active involvement of the broad public in this matter;

- The search for, development and introduction of new, nontraditional energy sources;

- The equipment of efficient gas and dust recovery equipment at the enterprises and other national economic installations which pollute the environment with harmful effluents; the transition from extensive methods of water and energy utilization to intensive ones; reducing air pollution to a level of acceptable sanitary standards;

- A categorical ban on the release of waste and untreated waters into surface bodies of water;

- Preventing the degradation and erosion of agricultural lands; prohibiting the allocation of areas suitable for agricultural production for nonagricultural needs;

- Constant concern for protecting the republic's flora and fauna;

- Halting the uncontrolled introduction of chemicals on agricultural lands;

- A repeat ecological evaluation of the plans of national economic facilities the construction of which is planned in the republic in the near or comparatively distant future. The active involvement of Soviet and foreign specialists, public organizations and the youth in this question;

- Ecological education of the broad masses of the public, a rise in the level of their ecological sophistication so that each citizen perceives the improved ecological state of the republic as his own personal problem.

5. Public Education, Science and Culture

5.1. One of the main concerns of the general plan is the further development of public education, science and culture on the basis of the complete autonomy of management for these sectors. In the given spheres, the republic has achieved definite successes but at the present stage these areas are confronted with new, more complex and vaster problems as well as even more noble and elevated goals.

There will be the greatest possible assistance to the development of public education, science, culture and art in the autonomous formations, and for this it is considered advisable to work out the appropriate specific programs;

5.2. The Georgian language, the state language of the republic, will become a matter of particular concern. The State Program for the Development and Extensive Use

of Georgian in all spheres of life has already been approved by a joint decision of the Georgian CP Central Committee, the republic Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet. Along with this, both the republic as a whole as well as its autonomous formations will show complete concern for the development and full implementation of the constitutional rights of the Abkhazian and Ossetian languages. All conditions must be created for the free use and development of Russian, the language of interrepublic communication, as well as the languages of the peoples the representatives of which reside in the republic, and at the same time the appropriate measures are to be carried out for the mastery of the state language of the republic by the non-Georgian population permanently residing in Georgia;

5.3. Considering the present-day reality and the future, the general plan sharply poses the question of accelerating the formation of a national secondary, general educational, vocational-technical and higher school. Such a school must educate youth dedicated to the motherland in a spirit of high national self-awareness, and equip them both with a knowledge of the fundamentals of the educational disciplines as well as with the main achievements of spiritual culture of the world's peoples. The entire educational system must be created in such a manner that the younger generation feels itself to be primarily the heir of the culture of their native people as well as the cultural heritage of all mankind responsible for the present and the creator of the future. More attention must be given to the rational placement of the higher and specialized secondary schools, to the rational combination of the principles of university and polytechnical education. It is essential to define more accurately the requirements of the republic economy for graduated specialists and only considering this requirement control the number of students admitted. It is essential to support in every possible way and develop the practice of training specialists for the various sectors of the national economy, science, culture and art of the autonomous formations in the institutions of higher learning.

An immediate task is a substantial rise in the level of training specialists. For this purpose, we must broaden the practice of sending the students and the faculty for various periods to leading institutions of higher learning in our country and foreign states, as well as training highly skilled specialists for the republic in the priority areas in the leading scientific and academic centers of the Soviet Union and other countries of the world. International contacts between the republic VUZes must be significantly expanded. In the immediate future, a specific program will be worked out for the development of higher education in Georgia. This program will completely reflect such questions as granting complete autonomy to the institutions of higher learning, their more effective and planned placement over the territory of the republic, the strengthening of the financial base and physical plant and so forth;

5.4. In accord with the general plan, scientific progress in the republic must assist in every possible way in the forming of strong productive forces oriented at the present-day demands of the world market and at the mobile and dynamic development of the national economy. For this purpose, the appropriate measures are to be carried out to deepen the participation of the republic's scientific potential in international integration processes. Collaboration with the advanced all-Union and international scientific-technical centers will be broadened.

Priority conditions will be created for developing all areas of Georgian studies ["kartvelogiya"]. Research will be developed both on the theoretical and practical aspects of the problems of the historical, ethnic, economic, geographic, social and political rise and development of Georgia as well as the questions of the history, culture and other problems of the national minorities living in Georgia in close contact with the indigenous peoples.

5.5. An inseparable part of the general plan is a concern for a further rise in national culture. Its uniqueness and specialness will be preserved as much as possible. At the same time, we must create conditions for it to conform fully to the present level and criteria for the development of world culture.

For this purpose, fundamental changes will be carried out of both a creative and organizational nature. Substantial importance is to be paid to providing this sphere with the necessary means and the appropriate material resources. The practice will remain in effect of state subsidies and along with this we intend to widely introduce principles of cost accounting, self-financing and the covering of costs as well as establish studio theaters, shops, mobile groups, creative collectives of individual performers and groups of them.

Cultural collaboration with foreign countries will be broadened;

5.6. On the matter of deepening national self-awareness, a crucial role is to be assigned to literature and its task is a true and highly artistic depiction of the entire life of the Georgian people with their past and present and particularly today: the fostering of the ideas of humanism, the friendship of peoples, their equality and liberty. Georgian literature is an inseparable part of European literature and one of its most important purposes is to restore, deepen and develop the historical contacts which linked it with this literature. We must rethink the history of modern Georgian literature and the main processes in the development of modern Georgian literature. The Soviet period of Georgian literature requires a different conceptual approach. There must be a substantial reassessment of the creativity of individual writers and literary groupings;

5.7. The Georgian theater must play a worthy role in consolidating the national forces. It must employ the force of its direct impact on the viewer for increasing

national self-awareness, establishing mutual understanding among peoples and affirming the ideals of humanism and the good.

The creative unions and the theaters within the shortest period of time are obliged to work out a range of measures which will ensure a rise in the professionalism of the personnel of dramaturge and the forms of encouraging work in the given area should be more effective. Along with this it would be advisable to establish on the basis of one of the higher institutions of learning in the republic a center for the advanced training of dramaturgical art and under the leading theater collectives open up creative workshops of dramaturge. A system of contractual relations must be introduced into the state theaters, while we must broaden the practice of sending young creative workers to the leading theatrical centers of both the Soviet Union as well as foreign countries and so forth;

5.8. Favorable conditions will be created for the development of Georgian fine arts. The national uniqueness of the plastic arts and painting will be preserved. At the same time, constant concern must be shown so that we do not fall behind the basic processes in the development of world art. The force of national art has always been and should remain in the future the profound and creative assimilation of the finest traditions of painting of the West and East and an organic combination of them with national principles. All conditions must be created for the young artists for their entry into independent creativity.

The appropriate measures will be carried out in the republic for setting up new exhibition halls. The development of fine arts will be largely aided by the creation of special enterprises which supply the artists with necessary materials and by organizing extensive contacts with the appropriate Soviet and foreign firms;

5.9. The unique Georgian musical culture will be extensively developed. This will be aimed at the active moral-aesthetic and humanistic education of the people, and particularly the young. The level of the professional training of performing musicians, composers, musicologists and music teachers will increase. Boarding schools will be opened for gifted children in various regions of Georgia, contacts will be strengthened with the musical cultural centers of the Soviet Union and foreign countries, research will be broadened in the area of the history of our national musical culture, there will be an improvement in the propagandizing of Georgian music as well as a better physical and financial support for the conservatory, the other musical schools, while labor and working conditions will be improved for music pedagogues working in the rural localities;

5.10. It is essential to support the high reputation of Georgian film art on a world scale; in carrying out a well-conceived financial and organizational policy, we must ensure progress of the Georgian cinematographer and his full participation in international film processes.

It is essential to establish conditions for the free development of Georgian film art. Both the questions of production and the renting of films by the republic will be settled independently, on the basis of parity relations with the Union republics and overseas countries.

In film production we will widely introduce both the principles of self-financing and the covering of costs as well as the state order and in addition other means of financing. Under the conditions of the operation of the new production and financial model for the movies, it is essential to establish a protective mechanism and maintain, particularly in the new stage, the state subsidy. Foreign exchange will be provided for the purchasing of modern equipment. It is also essential to settle the problem of the advisability of opening specialized name movie theaters for Georgian films and the independent setting of ticket prices for movie theaters within the republic as well as examine other questions.

Film art must more actively examine the questions of Georgian history. More attention will be paid to screening the best works of Georgian literature. In turn, the government will be systematically concerned for the state orders to produce such films. At the same time, in the film repertoire a more noticeable place will be held by the screen depiction of the problems of the life and labor of the Abkhazians, Ossetians and other peoples residing in Georgia and to treating the questions related to interethnic relations. More concern must be shown for the development of the children's films, to dubbing foreign films in Georgian and vice-versa, Georgian films in foreign languages. There is also the urgent task of training and educating highly skilled personnel, particularly for participation in international filmmaking. We must also study the question of the advisability of transforming the film faculty of the Georgian Theater Institute into an independent VUZ and the organizational strengthening of film science and film criticism;

5.11. One of the most important national tasks remains the preserving of the monuments of history and culture and their upkeep. For this purpose, a special state program must be drawn up for preserving the monuments and we must complete the inventorying of Georgian monuments on republic territory and outside. In the aims of broadening the work of restoring and renovating the monuments of antiquity, we will extend the specialization of restorer personnel and they will be trained in the corresponding centers of our nation and abroad. The physical plant will be strengthened for the system of preserving and restoring the monuments. The responsibility of the local soviets for this will be increased. The popularizing of the historical and cultural attractions of the republic will be improved and these will be more widely incorporated in the tourist and excursion routes. A portion of the income from this type of services will go into the upkeep of the monuments.

In accord with present-day demands, the work of our archives will be developed;

5.12. Measures will be planned for the further development of Georgian architecture and urban development, for the strengthening of their physical plant, for the training of specialists and for expanding and intensifying scientific research;

5.13. Library work is to be improved. There is to be a substantial revision of the principles for the operating of the various types of libraries existing in the republic as well as the question of the allocating of the necessary funds to them and recording the book holdings. The procedures for cataloging the library holdings will be fundamentally updated and there are plans to create unified republic computerized catalogs and proposals will be worked out for strengthening the physical plant of the libraries;

5.14. Museum activities are to be qualitatively modernized. A list of museums is to be clearly defined the improvement and upkeep of which will be assumed by the state. In addition, the practice of establishing cooperative, departmental and private museums will become widespread. There will be a fundamental restructuring in the publishing of illustrated museum catalogs, tourist guides and the manufacturing of slides and advertising materials. New, effective forms for the self-financing of museums will be sought out. All of this should help in turning the museums into authentic centers for the moral, aesthetic and patriotic education of the younger generation;

5.15. Serious measures will be initiated for developing folk creativity in the republic. A unified management system for this sphere will be established, intense scientific research will be started, the teaching of folklore will be activated and measures set out to study, record and popularize national traditions. Close attention will be paid to the development of folk crafts. For this purpose, we must set up production cooperatives of other types and these are to be favorably taxed;

5.16. Georgian book publishing is to be broadened. We will increase the output of predominantly artist, children's, historical, political, memoir and reference literature as well as updated and new, original textbooks and printed art products. The readers will be offered extensive runs of Georgian classic literature, both in the form of libraries and series as well as individual publications in addition to translations of the best examples of world classical and modern literature, subscription periodicals, literature for children and youth, as well as books on cultural questions. The practice of publishing books at the expense of the authors will be encouraged and expanded. The people of different nationalities living in the republic will be better supplied with teach-yourself books, phrase books and dictionaries of the Georgian language. We will publish more educational literature and visual aids for the non-Georgian schools on the questions of the history, geography, culture and art of Georgia. Direct contacts will be established with foreign

publishing firms. We will expand the publication of the best examples of Georgian literature in foreign languages.

The printing facilities in the republic will be developed and these will be equipped with modern equipment and technology. Direct ties must be established with foreign firms producing printing equipment. The type fonts will be improved. Social, economic and organizational measures are being planned to improve the training of young printing personnel;

5.17. The Georgian nation is united and indivisible outside its dependence upon the ideology and religious beliefs of its every representative. The general plan which thoroughly takes into account the major contribution by the Georgian Church to the development of spiritual culture as well as the preservation and strengthening of national uniqueness, in every possible way supports the broadening of its humanistic, peace-making and charitable activities. Its activation in this area will be largely aided by the working out of a new draft law on the freedom of conscience and which should be based upon the demands of the new thinking.

6. Interethnic Relations

6.1. The Georgian SSR is a multinational state with a small territory. It includes the Abkhazian ASSR, the Adzhar ASSR and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. In addition, living in the republic is a large number of Armenians, Azeris, Russians, Greeks, Jews, Ukrainians, Kurds and representatives of other nationalities. The general plan thoroughly considers this historically formed objective reality and considers it a vitally important task to have the development of traditional friendly collaboration of the indigenous population with the representatives of other peoples residing in Georgia as well as a radical improvement in interethnic relations in accord with the new situation;

6.2. Interethnic relations in the republic are based on the principles of mutual respect of interests and collaboration among the people of the indigenous and other nationalities living in Georgia as well as the age-old traditions of their joint peaceful life. The firm guarantee for national concord and national justice is recognition by the different peoples residing in the republic of the right of the Georgian people to national self-determination, state sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, as well as respect for their interests, language, history, culture and traditions. In turn, the indigenous population should recognize and respect the interests of the representatives of other nationalities residing on Georgian territory as well as their language, culture and tradition;

6.3. The general plan is based upon a profound conviction that any question of interethnic relations in the republic should and will be determined exclusively within the framework of the Georgian Constitution by political methods, by the methods of persuasion, and directly by a sincere and constructive dialogue between

the interested parties. The consolidation of the republic population and the maintaining of its territorial integrity are one of the main functions of the GSSR. It is essential to condemn categorically and thwart any manifestation of a separatist ideology;

6.4. The general plan considers as one of the most important tasks the expansion of self-administration in the Abkhazian ASSR, the Adzhar ASSR and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, their dynamic economic, social and cultural development on the basis of the principles of self-financing and the covering of costs. The republic will make every effort so that the constitutional rights of the autonomous formations be carried out completely and effectively, so that the Abkhazian and Ossetian languages and literature, science and culture develop successfully, so that the ecological situation improves while the demographic processes are directed considering the interests of the Abkhazian, Ossetian and Georgian peoples. The fundamental principle in the relation of these peoples in the future will be mutual understanding, respect and further development for traditions which have developed over the centuries as a result of their joint labor, struggle and acquired experience;

6.5. The general plan approves and supports the aspirations of the peoples of different nationalities who have historically resided in Georgia, along with satisfying their own national and cultural interests, to work actively for the full sovereignty of the GSSR, to act for the sake of its further political and socioeconomic flourishing and for the defense of the interests of the republic as a whole. There should be the greatest possible encouragement for their desire to collaborate broadly with the indigenous population and thereby establish a firm basis for interethnic contacts;

6.6. The GSSR will show the greatest possible concern for creating conditions for the people of different nationalities residing in the republic for raising their national self-awareness, educating the younger generation in the mother tongue, developing culture, and satisfying the religious needs of believers. At the same time, priority attention will be given to observing the interests of representatives of those peoples which in the Soviet Union do not have separate autonomous formations (the Greeks, Kurds, Assyrians and others);

6.7. The principles of national and social justice will be strictly observed. This conforms fully to the requirements of national sovereignty for the republic. The GSSR will not allow the slightest violations of legality, the belittling and insulting of national dignity, language and culture of any people and will work in every possible way to prevent instances of an aggravating of interethnic relations on religious grounds. The republic categorically condemns and in the future will condemn any relapses into national exclusiveness, conceit and self-isolation;

6.8. The general plan provides the complete satisfying of the economic and sociocultural needs of the people of all

nationalities residing in the republic but at the same time, under the conditions of the republic's ethnic diversity, objectively will not always find it possible to satisfy the needs and interests of the people of nonindigenous nationalities for Georgia with the same fullness as in the places of their basic settlement, that is, in the corresponding republics and autonomous formations;

6.9. Due to the fact that the ignoring of national interests during the period of the cult of personality, voluntarism and stagnation led to serious deformation of interethnic relations and socioeconomic development, the general plan proclaims primacy of the general national political, economic, social and cultural interests of the republic in comparison with abstractly understood general-Union interests. In particular, in those instances when it is impossible to achieve a harmonizing of interests or the general-Union departmental interests clearly run contrary to republic interests, the general-national [Georgian] interests will move to the forefront;

6.10. A component part of the general plan should be a system of measures providing, on the one hand, the broadening of cultural-educational and other relations with the peoples of the indigenous nationality who in different times and under various circumstances moved from Georgia into the other Union republic and foreign countries and, on the other, assisting their return to the motherland.

Ties will be broadened with compatriots and their offspring residing in Turkey, Iran, France, Israel and other foreign countries. Those persons who selflessly served the motherland but who at present, for various reasons, are forgotten will have their merited honors restored and will assume a proper place in the history of national culture.

The forced exiling of the entire Moslem population in 1944 from Samtskhe-Dzhavekheti was a major injustice. But at the same time, in resolving this problem, one cannot help but take into account public opinion and the attitude toward it on the part of the republic's multinational population. It is essential to take into account both the severe demographic situation, the necessity of an immediate resettling of thousands of peoples from the rayons of Svaneti and Adzharia who suffered from natural disasters and most importantly, the real danger of a sharp exacerbation of interethnic relations. Proceeding from these objective realities, over the long run it is possible to have a gradual return and settlement over the entire republic territory of only those exiled Meskhians who have not lost their Georgian national self-awareness;

6.11. Scientific research will be deepened on the present-day problems of interethnic relations and the practical implementation of their results. We will broaden the practice of conducting a dialogue and joint research by scientists of different nationalities. Particular attention will be paid to the historical roots and present-day realities which bring together the peoples residing in the

republic and which strengthen their mutual trust and collaboration. We must show high civil intuition and responsibility in order that the results of the research on one or another historical phenomenon or fact do not become grounds for incorrect political generalizations;

6.12. The general plan thoroughly considers the circumstance that on the level of present-day requirements, with a real consideration of the prospects of interethnic relations, it is essential to revise the current legislative enactments and work out new ones which regulate the diverse relations in this complex sphere. It is essential particularly to harden the demands and concretize the responsibility of those who fan interethnic hostility or nationalistic and separatist aspirations, who set the representatives of one nation against another, instigate provocations, organize bloody actions, insult the national dignity of people, their language and culture, or who criminally shift domestic problems to the plane of interethnic relations.

7. Party and Society

7.1. Under the conditions of a sharp rise in the national self-awareness of peoples, the accelerated development of the socionational movements and the exacerbation of nationality and interethnic problems which have become an objective reality throughout the Soviet Union, including in Georgia, the republic and its party organization are capable of assuming active positions without waiting for ready-made decisions from above which are incapable of fully reflecting the problems of national-state construction, the political, socioeconomic and cultural development of each republic, its national historical features, the specific features of interethnic relations, as well as the tasks for today and in the long run;

7.2. We cannot help but consider the fact that the restructuring of activities by the party organizations both in terms of time as well as in terms of the forms and content of the work, has clearly lagged behind the processes occurring in social life. This is felt with particular acuteness in the sphere of national development and interethnic relations. Basically, this has also caused the spontaneity and lack of organization in similar processes and the incorporating in these of elements of opposition between the different strata of society which oppose one another as well as other serious complications. At present, it is extremely important that the party organizations not merely take an active part in the processes of national state development but also play a leading role in their deepening, control and regulation;

7.3. We must abandon the incorrect interpretation of the national and international, the underestimating of the main driving forces of society, the ignoring of nationality problems as this undermines the authority of the party organization and sharply puts it in opposition to society. The republic party organization unconditionally should become and will become a sociopolitical organization which is qualitatively renewed and transformed in a

spirit of the new times and which considers as its primary goal in the sphere of national development a solving of the most important political, economic, social, cultural, demographic, ecological and other problems;

7.4. In the situation of the broadening and deepening of glasnost and democratization, it is completely inadmissible to have any limitation on democracy in internal party life; it is essential to move boldly away from the obsolete, conservative, dogmatic forms and methods of party political and organizational work. Both in the party Central Committee, in the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, as well as in the primary party organizations, it is time to give up the bureaucratic work methods, and disavow the activities which were isolated from the broad masses of people. At the same time, the party committees themselves and the Central Committee and its Buro, along with party and soviet workers, should widely include prominent representatives of the working class, the peasantry, the scientific and creative intelligentsia, public organizations and the youth.

This, first of all, requires a fundamental restructuring in the content and forms of work of the party apparatus. The party apparatus must be completely freed from the carrying out of those functions which should be done by the soviet, economic and other bodies. For this purpose, the party will assist in every possible way in further broadening the rights and powers of the soviets, forming them on the basis of democratic principles, as well as the acquiring and implementing of real power by the soviets;

7.5. In keeping with the republic's political, economic, social and cultural development and upon the achieving of its full sovereignty in all spheres of social life, it becomes evermore essential to have the broadening of the independence of the Georgian CP. The first steps to this must be taken now; we have in mind, above all, the working out of the status of the Georgian CP considering the nationality and religious particular features, determining a system of measures which will ensure the political independence of the Georgian CP as well as substantial broadening of its self-management.

The question of the relationships of the social organizations, creative unions and public associations with the appropriate Union organizations must be resolved in a new manner and on democratic principles;

7.6. All the decisions of the Georgian CP Central Committee, the party committees and the state bodies involving the problems of the republic's political, economic and cultural development, cadre and other major questions, will first be discussed extensively by specialists from the appropriate sector, by the community and only after this, approved. For this purpose we must turn actively to a practice of organizing referendums on the most important problems of republic life; the procedure for conducting these must be set by the Georgian Supreme Soviet;

7.7. Under the conditions of the deepening of glasnost and democracy, in resolving political, economic, social

and other questions, it is fully natural to have not only a pluralism of opinions but also a political pluralism, if this does not aim at destabilizing public life and at anarchy. This notion must be constitutionally reinforced.

For this reason, we must show understanding for all social organizations and sociational movements of different sorts. It is inadmissible to divide society into the so-called formal and informal groups or turn into a monopoly the opinion or judgment of any organization, department or individual, no matter how authoritative this organization, department or individual may be. We are obliged to recognize and respect the constitutional rights and duties of any member of society, no matter to what group he may belong or whatever his views. A concerned, sincere, principled, constructive and honest dialogue should be the main form of dealing with opponents. It must be remembered that the basic national interests of all our society are the same and each person has the right within the Constitution to act for the good of the people. At the same time, each person, regardless of position or philosophy, is obliged to respect the laws, to feel and share personal responsibility for the unity of the word and concrete deed, particularly when it is a matter of nationality questions.

7.8. The party will assist in every possible way in consolidating the healthy forces of society and contributing to raising the professional, concrete activeness of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the youth, various social organizations and support any initiative of theirs in the sociopolitical, social, economic, cultural and other spheres when aimed at the good of the nation and the people, for it is profoundly confident that precisely the vital creativity of the people is the main motivating force of social progress.

7.9. The party considers as one of its most important tasks effective concern for the moral purity of society. It is impossible to speak of progress as long as there still are to be found protectionism, nepotism, loafing, bribery, scheming, the embezzlement of public property, bureaucracy, sycophancy and other antisocial phenomena, and in particular on the part of leading workers of varying rank. Social justice must be established everywhere and in every thing. Here the republic Communist Party is placing great hopes on the activity and complete support of the broad community, the working class, the rural laborers, the intelligentsia and the youth.

7.10. The mass information should become democratic, unrestricted and free of an imposed line. The style and methods of their work must be substantially altered. The only criterion in assessing the publications, the TV and radio broadcasts will be the truthfulness, principledness, objectivity, competence and high professionalism. New periodicals of the public organizations will appear, the time of TV and radio broadcasts will be increased, the geographic range for the technical reception of the broadcasts and the network of local radio broadcasting will be broadened, and conditions will be created for

establishing TV studios in large cities and regional centers, the physical plant of newspapers and magazines. TV and radio broadcasting will be strengthened and cost accounting will be introduced into their activities.

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The ideas of the General Plan for the National Development of the GSSR and its focus correspond to the spirit of perestroika occurring in our nation as well as to democracy and glasnost. Considering the existing objective situation in the republic, its socioeconomic and historical uniqueness and public opinion, the general plan has analyzed those provisions which are included in the CPSU Platform on the nationality policy of the party under present-day conditions.

The General Plan is a document worked out from the results of nationwide discussion and with the active participation of representatives of our working class, the rural laborers, the intelligentsia and the youth. It should become a program of action for the future for the Georgian CP, its Central Committee, for the higher bodies of power, the ministries and departments, enterprises and institutions, as well as all people inhabiting the republic.

Certainly the General Plan in a loose form covers the problems confronting Georgia in the area of national development and in the same loose form outlines the ways to solve them. At the same time, this is a living, effective document which will be constantly improved and enriched in accord with the dynamism of life itself.

The party Central Committee, each party organization, the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the ministries and departments and the local authorities with the most active support and aid of all our community must carry out very difficult work so that every idea, thought expressed in the General Plan, every endeavor outlined in it find a detailed and concrete expression in the appropriate law, governmental decision, enforceable enactment, specific state programs and, most importantly, be embodied in practical deeds.

The revolutionary changes being carried out at present in our nation have awakened the national self-awareness of the peoples and have activated their energy and potential. The Georgian party organization is obliged to make active use of the enormous opportunities which have opened up for the national renewal of the people, in remembering here that complete national sovereignty can be obtained only by hard work, high skills, competence, professionalism, law and order and organization, respect for the Constitution and the law, as well as by friendship and collaboration with other peoples. Only under a condition of the unity of our entire people, profound conviction as well as a commonness of efforts and enthusiasm will we be able to achieve our elevated, noble goal.

Kirghiz Oblast Reorganization Discussed

90US0774A Moscow *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA* in Russian 31 Mar 90 p 8

[Article by Erkin Bobriyev, writer, Kirghiz SSR Honored Figure in the Arts, Frunze: "You Ought to Direct Your Energy... What Cutting Up the Map Costs Us"]

[Text] The pull toward reorganization, of course, is typical of our time, but should it become what a classic author used to call "administrative rapture"?

Last year two oblasts in Kirghizia were "disestablished": Talas and Naryn oblasts. Some of the territory in Talas Oblast was transferred to Osh Oblast, but several rayons and the city of Talas itself remain in republic subordination. Naryn Oblast was combined with Issyk-Kul Oblast and the name was left as the latter. Moreover, the cities of Przhevalsk and Naryn lost their status as oblast centers, but the city of Rybachye, in a single hour and in a new toponymic aspect, became the new oblast center and simultaneously the city of Issyk-Kul.

In general, innovations such as this have had their very old roots here in Kirghizia. People really love to rename things, and then to change them again. Prior to 1939 Przhevalsk was Karakol, and Rybachye was transformed from Kempalda to Balychki (which means Rybachye)... Do you understand any of this, reader? I myself am a local resident but even I am confused about all these spinnings in administrative-bureaucratic toponymics.

Actually, [Lake] Issyk-Kul is the pearl of our land. But, in my opinion, this area does not need any further popularization. On the contrary, it needs rest, and then more rest, in order to restore the natural forces that were wasted in the struggle against unwise management.

Well, as the expression goes, the train has left. Our party and soviet agencies have not yet learned how to take into consideration their opponents' opinion, much less admit their own mistakes. In a word, you can blame as many people as you like for all the sins, but never yourself.

Meanwhile the problems are growing before our eyes like a tremendous snowball.

Rybachye (now Issyk-Kul) even earlier was a source of continuous pollution for the lake: it is the final station on the railroad, it is a port, and is the hub of motor highways. In a word, it is an oblast center. But where will it put its waste products? Will those waste products be dumped once again into the "pearl of the land"? There is also the Chu River, but that river carries its water to Kirghizia's granary—Chuyskaya Valley. So there is no choice: either pollute the "pearl," or the "granary"... Because there are mountains all around us...

There is no need to be a prophet to predict an avalanche of new economic problems. How many new apartments will have to be built just to house the employees of the oblast institutions? How many official and production buildings? That means that in the remote areas there will

be a sharp decrease in the rate of construction of housing, hospitals, schools...

The republic's existing administrative division, obviously, is no dogma. But is it really possible to cut up that map endlessly, without taking into consideration the specialists' views or common sense?

Karaganda City Committee Abolished by Popular Vote

90US0774B Moscow *IZVESTIYA* in Russian 27 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Oleg Stefashin, Karaganda: "Party's Gorkom Abolished: This Decision Was Made by the Majority of Karaganda Communists"]

[Text] The question of eliminating the gorkom arose in the course of discussing the candidacies for the position of gorkom first secretary. The previous party leader had been forced to retire, and the plenum deemed it possible to hold an election for a new secretary by canvassing the opinions of all the Communists in the city. But the events began to develop unexpectedly.

The discussion of the candidacies gradually turned into a citywide discussion of the structural reforms within the party. Many people, in particular, expressed doubt as to whether it is necessary to preserve the cumbersome system of party administration. For example, the simultaneous existence in Karaganda of the gorkom and four raykoms obviously leads to parallelism in operations and hinders the resolution of many very important problems. One of the links is excessive. But which one?

Assistance in answering this was provided by the voting by name that was held in all the party organizations. More than 61 percent of the Communists supported the proposal to eliminate the city committee, and 26 percent voted in favor of abolishing the raykoms.

Taking into consideration the majority opinion, the party's obkom and gorkom decided not to convoke a city conference. A council of secretaries of primary party organizations was formed to coordinate the activities of the raykoms.

Alma-Ata City Soviet Criticized

90US0774C Moscow *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* in Russian No 14, 4 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by A. Samoylenko, *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* special correspondent for Kazakh SSR: "Hey! We Know All These Faces!"]

[Text] **Plans for transforming the country... They will be implemented by the local soviets of people's deputies. But let's take a look at who has arrived...**

Well, what has arrived—at least, at the Alma-Ata City Soviet—is an apparatus. Out of 200 deputies, only 40 are "old" ones. But who are the new ones? The very same managers, directors, secretaries, chief engineers... But

not a single economist, jurist, public-affairs commentator... six of the eight first secretaries in Alma-Ata's raykoms came to the city soviet without any alternate...

According to Z. K. Nurkadilov, chairman of the city ispolkom, the most important thing for the city ispolkom today is to receive from the new city soviet the optimal program for developing the city. Consequently, the city soviet must play the role of the brain center of the staff of intellectuals. But will it be able to do so?

Today, however, all the explanations of how and why the apparatus turned up at the local soviets are no longer of any importance. The passivity and political primitivism of the voters, and the shamelessness of the apparatchiks, were yesterday's topics of discussion. The train has left. In the soviets it is "Hey! We know all these faces!" and it can be stated confidently that the new USSR government and the country's Supreme Soviet, that are developing the path for bringing our Homeland out of its crisis, have become the hostages of the "new" local soviets that have been occupied by the apparatus. At least here.

At the recent Congress of USSR People's Deputies, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov accused television and the press of torpedoing the government's efforts to bring the economy out of its crisis. No, that accusation is not completely accurately directed. And it is as though we are not supposed to discern, in the heat of the parliamentary debates, the actual torpedo apparatus...

"For the time being, the city soviet is for me a 'pig in a poke,'" ispolkom chairman Z. K. Nurkadilov nevertheless assures us. "We'll have to wait and see. But it is necessary to give it an opportunity. Why should we, in advance, refuse the deputies their independence?"

Information Report From 3 March Tajik CP Central Committee Plenum

90US0725A Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 4 Mar 90 p 1

[Information Report on the Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee]

[Text] On 3 March 1990, an enlarged 18th Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee was held in Dushanbe.

Participating in the work of the Plenum were the first and second secretaries of the obkoms, the first secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms who are not members of elective bodies of the republic party organization as well as the deputy chairmen of the Tajik Council of Ministers, the representatives of the oblispolkoms, the secretaries of Tadjiksovsprof [Tajik Central Trade Union Council] and the Komsomol Central Committee of the republic, the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, the members and candidate members of the Dushanbe party gorkom, the members of the

auditing commission of the city party organization, the party and labor veterans as well as representatives of the mass information media.

The Plenum discussed the following questions:

1. On the primary measures to stabilize the situation in the city of Dushanbe and the republic as well as the tasks of preparing for the 21st Tajik CP Congress.

2. The information from the Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee on the results of verifying the statement by the member of the Central Committee Buro and Chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers, Comrade I.Kh. Khayeyev.

Giving the report on the first question was the First Secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, Comrade K.M. Makhkamov.

Participating in the debates were the following: Comrades I. Khalimov, first secretary of the Kurgan Tyube Party Obkom, Ye.I. Timoshenkova, head of the Children's Rheumatological Department of the RKB No 3 [republic clinical hospital] in Dushanbe, S. Beknazarov, first secretary of the Gorno-Badakhshan Party Obkom, Kh. Sharipov, chairman of the Tajik State Committee for the Press, M. Babadzhanov, chairman of the Republic Council for War and Labor Veterans, S.K. Markevich, first secretary of the Chkalovskiy Party Gorkom, S.Sh. Mirzoshoyev, first secretary of the Kulyab Party Obkom, S. Tagoyev, first secretary of the Komsomolabadskiy Party Raykom, A. Yakubov, first secretary of the Tajik Komsomol Central Committee, U. Zhurayev, brigade leader of the inspector-machinists at the Dushanbe Production Association Pamir, A.T. Pulatov, head of the Surgery Chair at the Pediatric Faculty of the Tajik State Medical Institute imeni Abuali ibn Sino.

For the question discussed, decrees were adopted including "On Primary Measures to Stabilize the Situation in Dushanbe and the Republic," "On the Holding of the 21st Tajik CP Congress, and the Procedure for Electing Delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and the 21st Tajik CP Congress." The decrees will be promulgated in the press. A decision was taken to convene the 21st Tajik CP Congress on 24 May 1990.

The Plenum established a Commission of the Tajik CP Central Committee for Organizing the Election of Delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and the 21st Tajik CP Congress.

The Plenum participants unanimously adopted the Resolution "Against Intensifying Tension Based on Interethnic Relations."

Giving information from the Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee on the results of verifying the statement of the member of the Central Committee Buro and Chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers, I.Kh. Khayeyev, was the Secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee A.D. Dadabayev. The Plenum participants

were informed on the decision of the Central Committee Buro for the given question.

The Plenum expelled Comrade N. Tabarov from the ranks of the CPSU for flagrantly violating the standards of party morality and for active participation in an attempt at the unconstitutional dismissal from the position of the chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers and the intentional misinformation of individual responsible workers for these purposes.

The Plenum handed down a strict reprimand to the member of the CPSU, Comrade N. Khuvaydullayev with the entry of this in his party booklet for the evidenced political immaturity and lack of principles toward the illegal, anticonstitutional actions of Comrades B.B. Karimov and N. Tabarov and for flagrant violation of official party discipline expressed in misleading the leadership of the Tajik CP Central Committee about this. He was dismissed from the post of head of the State Legal Department of the Tajik CP Central Committee.

The Plenum announced a strict reprimand against the CPSU member, Comrade U.G. Usmanov, with the entry of this in his party card for the evidenced lack of discipline toward the incorrect demands of Comrade B.B. Karimov for preparing an ukase on the unconstitutional dismissing of the chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers and the appointing of Comrade B.B. Karimov to the given position and for the failure to take measures to prevent these actions.

The Plenum took into consideration that by a decision of the Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee, the CPSU member, Comrade B.B. Karimov for the evidenced outright careerism and for the flagrant violation of the standards of party morality expressed in the involvement in an attempt unconstitutionally to remove the chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers and install himself in the given position and for insincerity, has been expelled from the ranks of the CPSU.

The Plenum took into consideration that by the decision of the Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee, the CPSU member, Comrade M.M. Mabatshoyev for the evidenced political immaturity, lack of principle and insincerity was given a strict reprimand with the entry of this in his party card.

The Plenum took into consideration that the party committee of the Tajik Ministry of Internal Affairs was ordered to review the question of party responsibility of the CPSU member, Comrade A.Kh. Khabibov for violating the requirements provided by the Regulation on Introducing a Curfew in the City of Dushanbe as well as that the Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee considered it ill-advised for Comrade A.Kh. Khabibov to remain further in the post of chief of the Political Department of the Tajik MVD.

The members of the Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee, Comrades G.G. Veselkov, G.V. Koshlakov

and Sh.D. Shabdolov were instructed to inform the communists in the primary party organizations of the Presidium of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, the Tajik MVD, the Tajik Gosplan, the Tajik Ministry of Culture and the editors of the republic newspaper *TODZHIKISTONI SOVETI* on the decisions of the 18th Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee.

The Plenum also reviewed an organizational question. Sh.M. Sultanov was approved as the head of the Department of Party Organizational and Cadre Work of the Tajik CP Central Committee.

The First Secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee K.M. Makhkamov gave a concluding speech at the plenum.

Participating in the work of the Plenum were the Sector Head of the Department of Party Construction and Personnel Work of the CPSU Central Committee N.I. Semenov and the Sector Head of the Department of Nationality Relations of the CPSU Central Committee V.M. Fedin.

With this the Plenum concluded its work.

(A report on the Plenum will be published in the press.)

Makhkamov on Ethnic Relations, Tajik CP Tasks, Economics

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TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 4 Mar 90 pp 1-3

[Report of First Secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee K.M. Makhkamov at the 18th Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee]

[Text] Comrades! The situation which has been created in the republic, in its leading party and state bodies, has imposed particular responsibility on all. This also explains the urgent nature of the preparations and holding of the plenum. I feel that it would be correct not to go again into details on the tragic events of 11-14 February. This was mentioned with sufficient detail recently, including in the two previous Central Committee Plenums.

At present, in defining the tasks for the future, we cannot forget for a moment the pain and suffering which have been caused to all the people of the republic and to each of us by the bitter and memorable February days in Dushanbe.

Naturally, in such a short period of time it is virtually impossible to analyze objectively and thoroughly all the causes and bring out the true roots of the tragedy which occurred. But we are obliged, as is already known, to draw conclusions from that and outline specific measures to deepen the process of normalizing the situation in all spheres of life and set specific tasks for the future.

Proceeding from an analysis of the political situation, we have every right at present to state that destructive forces

have arisen in the republic and are ready to act. Using the slogans of perestroika, in certain situations they can influence individual groups of society and destabilize the situation with all ensuing circumstances. And we have already experienced these.

But in the course of the events, healthy forces were also apparent and these, having united on a principled base of perestroika, are capable of countering the critical situations in sociopolitical life.

These forces are also the engines of perestroika and for its implementation on a real basis, and they are the true expressers of the people's will. And the people have rightly posed the main question for us: Why did these events happen and who directed them? We feel that hurried conclusions without sufficient evidence are not to the point here. For ascertaining the truth there is still much work to be done. And this is for all of us, for each rightly-thinking member of society.

Nevertheless, there are sufficient grounds to say with confidence that whatever the "noble aims" which were used by the organizers of the various manifestations which developed into disorders to conceal their actions, this was a blow against perestroika and an attempt to undermine it.

This is the main political conclusion.

We are receiving hundreds of letters and telegrams with urgent demands for retribution and the punishment of the guilty. Here are lines from a joint letter from the Khafizov, Morozov and Korpushin families received from the city of Dushanbe:

"We want to rebuff the traitors of the people, as they can be called no way else. How is it possible to come to power by such a perfidious, bloody way, at the expense of children and young people, by ultimatums, threats and pogroms, by violence?"

Of course, one might disagree with the wording and not accept this, but it is a fact that this letter rather accurately expresses the essence of the mood of a larger portion of the public.

There should be no doubt, comrades, that all the organizers and participants in the criminal actions will be given a proper evaluation in strict accord with the law. As for the communists, there is a double demand on them, and they will be held responsible to the party on the basis of the bylaws standards and the demands of party ethics.

A moral assessment should also be given to the actions. And also for the organizers of the disorders who consciously pushed the persons who had confidence in them, and these were basically the youth, into illegal actions. This is now being done at meetings in the labor collectives.

At the same time, people are saying that it is impossible to believe that they—the organizers—were not aware of

what the consequences of this could be and, unfortunately, were. The "experience" of Baku, Sumgait, Nagornyy Karabakh, Fergana, Tbilisi and other regions clearly has not taught anything to some.

How could they resort to involving in unsanctioned meetings juveniles and even schoolchildren, our children and grandchildren, befuddled by alcoholic beverages and this has already been established, in subjecting their lives to mortal danger?

We feel that our Plenum should turn to the parental and pedagogical community with a request, warning and appeal that if they and all of us value the life and health of our children, then everything possible must be done so that their gullibility and inexperience never be used for the purposes of those groups which provoked the mass disorders.

Comrades! In analyzing the causes of the February events, we are perfectly aware that the administrative-bureaucratic system and the era of stagnation have made themselves felt in all spheres and in all regions. Inattention to man and to his needs and requests and the secondary treatment given precisely to this factor and the consequence of which was the previously committed problems in the placement of the productive forces, the orientation of the economy to producing not end products but rather intermediate products, the low return on capital investments, the deterioration of the ecological situation in certain areas—all of this led to a great lag in the standard of living, to a rise in unemployment, particularly among the youth, and to a dangerous increase in the crime rate. And as a consequence of this there have been a significant exacerbation of social tension in the republic, including in the city of Dushanbe. And there are also other specific factors for us—both objective and subjective—and ultimately this has retarded the process of perestroika. And no matter how difficult this is to admit, we should honestly state that responsibility for this rests on us, on the members of the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and primarily on the political leadership, the members of the Central Committee Buro.

In a report it is impossible to provide a detailed analysis of each problem. This must be done at the next congress of the Tajik CP. The Central Committee Buro feels it possible to convene it on 24 May of the current year. We should take the corresponding decision on this matter.

The preparations for it, a self-critical and objective analysis of all areas and problems are still to come, however we would like to focus attention on a number of specific questions.

In returning to the past events, the formal and artificial grounds for which were the artificially fanned anti-Armenian feelings, it is essential first of all to understand why in Tajikistan, where there have always been great patience, hospitality and respect for other peoples and in spite of the age-old traditions, a tragedy was played out

which involved representatives of different nationalities placing them in conflict with one another.

To a definite degree this was the result of the deformation of the Leninist nationality policy during the period of the dominance of the administrative-command system.

What happened was definitely influenced also by the fact that in the past and out of inertia during the first years of perestroika and probably even now, not enough attention has been given and is being given to the "nationality problem" and to strengthening the international and patriotic indoctrination of the public, particularly the youth.

It is no secret that the various informal associations which have formed recently basically speculate precisely on questions which have built up in this sphere. For some reason, they do not want to see that the first but fundamental, basic steps are being taken to rectify the situation.

The party and soviet bodies and the public organizations should recognize and draw the corresponding conclusions from this. Unfortunately, they have not been able to correctly find their way in the rising circumstances and they have been unable to head the processes not only of carrying out certain fundamental decisions but also elucidating the true goals and intentions of certain forces. They have not always provided correct, persuasive answers to vital questions and have not taken decisive practical steps to resolve the constantly arising specific problems.

This has led to a situation where they in public opinion at times appear as the adherence of the old thinking, a unitary state which largely ignores the specific features and limits the rights and opportunities of the Union republics.

The population and particularly the intelligentsia and the youth are also dissatisfied by the fact that many decisions by the party committees on various aspects of nationality development and interethnic relations are not completely carried out and precise, systematic information on the course of their fulfillment is also not always provided.

There is no justification for our passivity. Nor is there any help by referring to the protracted and painful process of transferral of power to the soviets. Communists are also working there and heading the executive bodies.

Nor is there any justification for the fact that the primary party organizations and the labor collectives, the rank-and-file communists and the republic workers are standing on the sidelines of discussing these acute social problems. I particularly emphasize this because precisely they represent various nations and nationalities living in Tajikistan and the harmonizing of nationality relations must begin precisely with them.

A prime task for all the primary organizations under present-day conditions is that for a rebirth of the authority of the party organizations and the Tajik CP as a whole, we must work out our own platform which would clearly represent the national interests of the Tajiks, the other nations and nationalities and would define the ways for realizing these as well as the direction of our relations with the center and the Union republics.

This work must be carried out all the more energetically as we have already lost a good deal of time, without showing proper tenacity in carrying out the decisions of the 15th Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee to harmonize nationality and interethnic relations.

In a word, we must have a program of action which would fully correspond to the new conditions for the development of the republic in a renewed federation. The work of shaping this program should become the most important thing in the course of preparing for the forthcoming congress of the Tajik CP.

I feel that the Plenum should give instructions to the Central Committee Buro within the shortest period of time, and specifically by mid-April, to complete the elaboration and submit for national discussion a draft of such a platform which would concretize and outline the ways for realizing the main ideas in the platform of the CPSU Central Committee in our party organization.

The Central Committee departments, the communists working in the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic Council of Ministers, the communist deputies of the Supreme Soviet, the primary party organizations and the leading specialists, the scientists of the Academy of Sciences and its head institutes, the VUZes and creative unions should take a most active part in this work.

In giving proper due to the interests and problems of the indigenous population, let us say directly that in the past we have not always given importance to having its development occur under conditions of the historically determined joint dwelling in Tajikistan of representatives of scores of nationalities each of which had its own language, culture, definite economic, social and other traditions and interests. At present, in all elements of the republic political system it is essential to carefully analyze the problems which have built up in the given sphere and create a mechanism which, in constantly being improved, would contribute to the harmonizing of national interests.

This is particularly important now when the occurred events have complicated relations between the peoples of different nationalities and have caused in many a feeling of being unprotected, uncertainty as to their future and even a desire to leave Tajikistan where they have lived and worked for decades.

An immediate task for all communists of any nationality is to eliminate the acuteness of this problem which, let us put it frankly, has been intensified artificially.

The main thing is to create in the republic a sociopolitical situation whereby the representative of any nationality would feel himself to be a citizen with full rights linked by flesh and blood with this land. This should be aided by certain guarantees which must be worked out immediately. Such assignments have been given to the communists heading the government with a subsequent review of these in the republic Supreme Soviet.

It would be desirable, or to put it more accurately, it is our duty to adopt a special plenum resolution on the given question. This would be a statement which not merely condemned the actions which have nothing in common with the spirit, traditions and philosophy of our people, but would also emphasize our common political responsibility and precisely guarantee a certainty in their future for our brothers and sisters.

In turning to the representatives of the other nationalities, I would like to tell them the following. We understand the alarm of the people who have resolved to leave the republic. We would like to sincerely urge them to reflect a bit and not give in to rumors and panic and to individual provocations. Remember that for many of us, Tajikistan is a homeland and it should not be abandoned in a difficult hour.

The Tajik people have always shown respect to those who helped them establish their national state, to break out of backwardness, to create modern industry and agriculture and develop their culture. This has become the flesh and blood of the Tajik people.

It is the duty of all the party organizations and all the communists, together with the soviet bodies and the public formations, during these days to initiate explanatory work in the labor collectives, schools and at the residence of the population in order to assist in normalizing the interethnic relations and reduce the departure of the population from the republic.

Everyone must realize that the main thing is not the loss of specialists, scientists and skilled workers or the weakening of the republic's economic base the consequences of which are hard to predict. The main thing is that by this we are losing our brothers who grew up in our land and who are its sons. By this we are losing a portion of our dignity, respect and memory of our predecessors. All our educational work everywhere should be permeated with this spirit, the spirit of Soviet patriotism. This is the most immediate and crucial task of all party and ideological work.

One other thing. As a Tajik, as a citizen and as a communist, I cannot help but support the wise, courageous and moral step taken by the Tajik Academy of Sciences and the leadership of the scientific community which have turned to their Armenian colleagues and brothers and excused themselves for what happened during the February days due to the fault of provocateurs.

I want to support the sincere words of this appeal and I am convinced that these are shared by the plenum participants and all the healthy forces of our republic.

Comrades! We must admit that one of the main factors which brought about the tragic events was the fact that the ideological corps and indeed our party organizations as a whole ceased to keep up with the dynamics of social processes and as a result, it must be said directly, party influence on the state of affairs was weakened.

Also making itself felt was the lack among the party aktiv was the ability to conduct an open dialogue with people, to forecast their feelings and influence these. Of course, for this it is possible and necessary to criticize the Ideological Department of the Central Committee, its leaders, the Supreme Soviet and the republic ideological service. Here it is difficult to provide any rejoinder. But such an approach and such an evaluation still do not exhaust the entire depth of the question.

Ideological and educational work cannot be carried out exclusively by the workers of the ideological subdivisions. This should be the daily concern of all the party workers, all the leading personnel of the soviet and state bodies, all leaders of the labor collectives, without exception. The fact that the members of the Central Committee, the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms were not maximally involved in this matter is one of the most essential political oversights. And the fact that the coordinating role in this work was not carried out with the proper tenacity by the Central Committee Secretariat and the Central Committee Ideological Department—for this we must answer now at meetings and at gatherings in the labor collectives.

But such a self-critical assessment absolutely does not eliminate responsibility from the communist leaders of the ministries and departments, the enterprises and institutions. And this includes the Ministry of Public Education, all institutions of learning and the Komsomol Central Committee for the fact that recently major shortcomings were discovered in the educational work with the youth, and primarily the student bodies of the technical schools and the PTU [vocational-technical school].

It was not merely a matter that a majority of the participants in the demonstrations and disorders were young people, students from the schools, technical schools and PTU.

The question, and the most important one, is why they believed not those who have daily contact with them and those who out of professional and party duty should be their teachers and mentors and shape their ideology and moral positions, those who by their personal example should indoctrinate the citizen.

At a meeting at the university, Comrade S. Talbakov spoke very correctly and in a principled manner about this.

It must be said flatly that no one has the right to manipulate the youth, speculating on their emotions and sincerity. This is lethal. This is politically criminal.

We must all turn our look to the youth problems. We must live for its interests and consider it. And this should be done sincerely and honestly.

At this time, when the members of the Central Committee Buro each day are in the student audiences, we are told directly and without excuses what is of concern to them.

We should honestly admit that for some, this was a surprise. Why? Had there not been meetings between the members of the Central Committee Buro with the students before? There had been. But, as we are certain now, they were of a formal nature. It is painful to admit this, but it is true. Let us take such a question as supervision over the fulfillment of assignments given to individual leaders to solve problems raised by the VUZ youth. Was this really organized realistically, in a principled manner and constantly? Was the irresponsibility shown in this important work promptly thwarted by the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Soviet Presidium or the Central Committee departments? Were the Ministry of Public Education and the Komsomol Central Committee really defending the student body's interests in a dedicated and tenacious manner? No. There was no effective, truly party, interested work.

And such formalism to a definite degree undermined the trust in us on the part of the students.

We have been repeatedly convinced of this in the course of the session of the Central Committee Buro of 26 February, where the questions related to the student youth and the conditions of its everyday life in the dormitories were examined with the participation of the first secretaries of the party raykoms, the communist leaders of the ministries and departments and the Dushanbe City Soviet.

Many problems have built up. Even those which do not require major capital investments have not been resolved promptly.

To our enormous regret, recently we were also convinced of the low authority of the Komsomol committees and the inability of the Komsomol Central Committee and the Dushanbe Komsomol Gorkom to express the interests of the youth and influence them.

The Komsomol Central Committee and the primary organization committees have not succeeded in overcoming the stereotype of thought in individual youth groups and instill in them confidence in their own abilities to solve youth problems. Clearly, for this reason the programs of the informal organizations and the concrete posing of questions by them are in many ways more attractive for the students and for the young

representatives of the creative and scientific intelligentsia. The various political clubs and youth centers which have existed under the Komsomol committees in fact have no real authority.

The Komsomol committees must revise their activities completely and in a self-critical manner, beginning with the work style among the youth up to the organizational and political conclusions. The main task at present is to restore the former authority of the Komsomol, to actually lead the youth and the Komsomol members and direct their forces into creative activities. This is a difficult undertaking. Without independence, without boldness, without a decisive break with the obsolete, this is simply impossible. More initiative and more principledness must be shown by the Komsomol Central Committee and by the young communists heading the republics, capital and other oblast, city and rayon organizations.

As for our relations with the Komsomol committees and the providing of the required aid and support to them, here we have a firm position and this was clearly outlined at the recent joint Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee and the Komsomol Central Committee.

Rights and opportunities have been fully provided to the republic Komsomol. So it is high time for these to be actually used. But for now many decisions of the joint plenum are not being carried out. Why? Who is personally responsible for this? Why do we declare the thesis that the problem of the youth is our common concern while the Komsomol frequently remains on the sidelines in the practical embodiment of this? We feel that the time has come for us to demand answers to these questions. Strong demands should be placed not only on the communists working in the Komsomol but also on those leaders who in terms of their official duty are obliged to be constantly concerned with youth problems. In the near future, the Department for Party Organizational and Cadre Work should make specific proposals on the given question to the Buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee.

Comrades! The events which we are presently describing urgently put ideological and all educational work among the most important areas in all the activities of the republic Communist Party. In this area we must carry out changes which would correspond to the current state of the sociopolitical situation and to those changes which are occurring in the republic under the effects of the perestroika processes as a whole.

Ideological work at present should be particularly dynamic and should have primarily an anticipatory nature.

Under the new conditions as a whole, the party cadres and specifically the ideological corps must learn to respond quickly and correctly to the specific vital situations. It must be admitted honestly that before these events the analytical and forecasting functions of the

party committees and the ideological institutions had already disappeared. This was aided by the fact that in the republic up to now there still is no system for studying and forecasting public opinion. Our recommendations on organizing a sociological service, unfortunately, have remained on paper. In the near future, these questions must be resolved. Also we have not set up and still do not have an institute for lecturers, agitators and propagandists. On this matter there is not the proper preparation, effective information and required mobility. I propose that for precisely this reason the vacuum has been filled in with demagogues and political speculators.

Even now, it is clear that the increased social activeness and politicizing of the masses and the new unusual manifestations of interethnic relations require an honest, open dialogue on the urgent questions, the strengthening of attention to the development of the social sciences, and the creation and creative assimilation of new forms for the democratic interaction of science, politics and ideology.

These questions are not easy but they must be resolved now, since these are posed by life itself and by circumstances which will largely determine the realization of the perestroika program.

At present, it has become clear for all that the previously familiar monologue should give way to a concerned dialogue with all healthy forces. We must have just propaganda and agitation linked closely to the practices of perestroika.

In other words, ideological education should be oriented primarily at man, it should proceed from his interests and needs and express the entire range of opinions of people.

Comrades! I feel it necessary to say a few words about our intelligentsia, the role of which in sociopolitical life and influence on the processes occurring in the republic are very great.

Let us say with all frankness that for many years ideological and political work as well as the party influence in this sphere were on the lowest level. We also must not deny the instilling of administrative-command methods of leadership in the past over the scientific and teacher collectives and creative unions. Here the powerful creative and intellectual potential of the intelligentsia was virtually unused and did not influence the social processes or the shaping of public opinion. Moreover, precisely a large portion of the intelligentsia was socially deprived.

Under such conditions, it became closed off in itself, it lost its incentive and along with this an interest in active involvement in the processes of renewing society. Although the healthy forces of the scientific, creative and teacher intelligentsia are removing from their midst those who are siding with the destructive groups, nevertheless it must be admitted that as a whole the party

organizations here have lost their former authority and influence and along with these have more and more been deprived of the support and the enormous influence of scientific and creative thought on the broad masses.

Such is the reality which we cannot escape.

But to merely draw the conclusion means to turn away from a problem which can become crucial in any sociopolitical situation.

For this reason, we must turn, finally, and face the problems of the intelligentsia and find those forms of relations which make us true allies and a united force in renewing all spheres of republic life.

At the current plenum, we must also answer the following question: how should we, the communists, act with the growing diversity of phenomena, social formations and relations?

Recently, many independent social formations have arisen and these have begun to play a noticeable role in the different spheres of republic life.

National-cultural associations of the national minorities have also arisen.

Social awareness in the republic discloses a rather broad range of attitudes toward the new social formations: from caution and disdain to a euphoric enthusiasm over the question of the boldness and radicalism of their ideas and actions. This is why it is particularly important to work out realistic assessments of these movements and certainty in the relations with them.

In our republic the independent social organizations began to appear openly from the end of 1988. All of them initially set the tasks of resolving specific socioeconomic problems in their regions and in the republic as a whole. But as their activities got underway, one began to note a definite political focus in the goals pursued by them and a growing pressure on the constitutional bodies of authority.

It should be said that it was our and not only our mistake that the arising associations were viewed as the flaws in the democratization of society and not as new forces together with which it would be possible to resolve many of our problems. There was a reticence and at times a fear to completely abandon the customary notions of the processes of social development.

All of this reaffirms the words of M.S. Gorbachev at the April (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that "the party organizations and our cadres in many instances have been unprepared for such a turn in the development of democratic processes in society," when in relying on a viable dialogue "it is essential to mobilize the people, to convince them to carry out perestroika and remake our society in the interests of man and all the people. And this must not be done according to the

scheme: permit—do not permit; let—do not let. All of this is already the past. This is a nostalgia for authoritarian methods."

At present, under conditions of a rapid rise in self-awareness and the politization of the people, it is essential first of all to overcome the psychological barrier in the work with independent social organizations. This is a fundamental question. It must be admitted that this question is not a simple one and many must change their attitude and revise their personal viewpoint. But it is essential to proceed from the fact that such organizations are part of life and interaction with them is an urgent necessity and one of the primary tasks of the party committees.

Secondly, the independent social formations are very motley, contradictory movements both in terms of membership and the views of their participants. This requires a concrete and differentiated approach to them. The main thing is without conceding our main ideals and fundamental guidelines, we must move toward the positive features proposed by them in the form of social, economic, cultural and other demands, excluding, naturally, the possibility of their slipping into destructive, extremist positions.

As such tendencies do exist, it is essential to oppose them and act decisively. But this must be done within the limits and solely in accord with the law. It is essential also to promptly and aggressively unmask those who endeavor to impose negative ideas and goals on society and we must wage an uncompromising struggle against the nationalist and chauvinistic, separatist and anticonstitutional actions.

In a word, the time has come for a more active dialogue with the independent social associations. The Central Committee is open for such dialogue and the party committee should be open for work with them.

But here we ourselves must adjust and decide for interaction with them who of us is able to lead them and not give way to the influence of populist ideas. The restructuring of all party work in the spirit of and in accord with the demands of the times and the platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Party Congress is a guarantee for greater influence by the party among the workers in the growing diversity of social phenomena and relations.

This is my personal position as a communist, a citizen and a leader. There can be other opinions and accents. In this instance we must make our opinion felt on this question openly and honestly. We should elaborate a collective strategy and the appropriate tactics. Time does not stand still. There is no one to give us advice or ready-made formulas.

Several words on religion and its place and role in social life and in the occurring processes.

Perestroyka has created a new situation in sociopolitical life and in this the principles of a state under the law are becoming established more and more and this includes freedom of conscience. Hence the fundamentally new, unusual situation which must be taken into account in relations with religion.

At present, we can note a noticeable revival in the activities of the clergy, and we can see the greater interest of the youth in Islam. The number of young persons attending mosque is increasing and many are endeavoring to enter clerical schools. This is the result of our superficial work.

The clergy has become noticeably younger. A predominant majority of them has a religious education and is respectful, at least externally, to the existing legislation, they constantly maintain contact with the local authorities and participate in peace-making and charitable activities.

At the same time, the humanizing of the relations between church and state has opened up great opportunities for an active religious influence on the indigenous population, particularly the youth. The reactionary clergy has been quick to take advantage of this.

Under these conditions, the party bodies on the spot, the ideological institutions and the aktiv have lacked a profound understanding of the complexity of the relations among persons professing different religions.

A majority of the party, Komsomol, soviet and ideological workers has little mastery of knowledge in the area of atheism and religion and has no skills in effectively working with the masses. At the same time, the questions of Islamic studies have virtually not been worked out in the republic. Just five persons are concerned with this question in the Academy of Sciences and in the VUZes. Here, their interests do not include such important problems as "Religion and Everyday Life," "Religion and Culture" and "Religion and Spiritual Life" and there is no place for these in the long-range plans.

Up to now no book of commentaries has been published on the various rites and rituals and the role and place of Islam in the history of the region have not been brought out. This is essential for practical work. Certainly, the initiative on this question should belong to the scientific and ideological institutions.

As quickly as possible, we must overcome the inertia of the obsolete approaches in atheistic work and its divorcing from reality, the formalism, incompetence and at times the "aggressiveness" which becomes tactlessness. In the area of atheistic indoctrination at present, it is extremely essential to have new thinking and new approaches.

It should be clear to all that the struggle must be conducted not against the believers but rather against religious confusions and that the replacing of a scientific criticism of religion by attacks on the faithful does

nothing but harm. We must not see in man the enemy of socialism merely because he is a believer.

We must not reduce the activities of the clergy to antisocialist ones merely because these activities are precisely of a religious organization. We must objectively analyze what is the sociopolitical tint of these actions and these—as can be seen from the events in the city of Dushanbe—can be diverse.

At present, the possibility is seen of collaborating with religious circles also in jointly opposing any sort of politicians, extremists and antiperestroika forces.

Collaboration with religion can develop successfully also in the spheres of establishing common human values, humanistic relations and instilling healthy moral principles in the people.

In a word, in defending the positions of scientific atheism, we can and should find a common language and mutual understanding with the believers and religious leaders in resolving those questions which will benefit the citizens of the republics. At the same time, we must decisively rebuff those who violate current legislation, abuse the freedoms granted to them and indulge in antistate, illegal actions.

Unfortunately, such instances have occurred. Here the soviets, the administrative bodies should show proper principledness.

Comrades! In the existing situation the role of the mass information has immeasurably risen. In assessing the current work of the journalists, it must be pointed out that a majority of them has assumed a party position on all events. Here we cannot help but notice the workers and the printers of the Tajik CP Central Committee Publishing House.

We are grateful to all for the understanding and support. The recording given twice over the republic radio from the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee, the press conferences, the daily briefings and meetings with the creative collectives of the newspapers, radio and television have played an important role in a movement toward normalizing the situation.

At the same time, it must be admitted that individual workers from the mass information media even prior to the February events and particularly the subsequent period assumed tendentious and subjective stances, and frequently treated events in a prejudiced, distorted manner, thereby introducing confusion in the minds of people, wrongly belittling their civil dignity. This is to no one's honor. Without calling for any organizational conclusions, I still consider it necessary to give a political, moral assessment to such instances, to their initiators and authors. This is a fundamental question.

For example, at the hospital where a majority of Tajiks are employed, there was sincere indignation over the TV report which fostered the notion that Russian physicians had refused to provide aid to patients of the indigenous

nationalities. This was a malicious fabrication. There is no justification for this action by referring to the emergency situation and to the obvious pressure of individual extremists.

How else but instigation could one call the television interview given in a mosque which clearly distorted the facts about the victims. Certain republic newspapers have not always been accurate and objective.

For the sake of justice, it must be pointed out that all of this was during the first days of the events. Later on, both television, radio and our press as a whole endeavored to treat what happened in Dushanbe objectively and justly. Balanced, principled publications appeared. In terms of certain of these the Central Committee Buro and the government responded effectively, they supported these and provided the corresponding assignments the fulfillment of which was taken under supervision.

At present, one can hear from certain journalists voicing dissatisfaction that rigid supervision was established over the work of the press. Yes, during the first days this was the approach. It was compulsory but also justified in this complex situation. How should one proceed under the conditions of an emergency situation, when it was essential to halt the flow of disinformation which could become and did become the cause of even greater exacerbation of the already excessively overheated passions?

It must also be pointed out that in a whole series of instances, our mass information media showed themselves to be unable to work anticipating the development of events and merely followed these; in many materials of the newspapers, television and radio, there was an insufficient level of professionalism and a shortage of creative forms and methods. All of this noticeably reduced the creative potential of the press. From this there stems an urgent need to deepen the work of improving professional mastery, raising the skill level and improving the ideological education of the journalists.

This is a task not only for the trade unions, but also for the leadership and the primary party organizations of the mass information media. It is essential to restructure fundamentally party leadership over the mass information media. The abandoning of the administrative-bureaucratic methods, petty hindrances and interference into the internal professional activities of the editors do not mean that the party committees are to remove themselves from political leadership over its own publications.

In constantly encouraging and stimulating independence, initiative and boldness of the journalists and their editors, in supporting them, in assisting the effectiveness of the journalist publications, in constantly informing the journalist corps and in creating favorable conditions for labor and everyday life, the party committees should raise the demands placed on their publications, and

indoctrinate the journalists in a spirit of political, professional and moral responsibility, of steadily following the party's political line. At the present stage, this means a support for perestroika.

We have decided to invite the leaders of the party publications, of Gosteleradio [state television and radio] and the Tajik Telegraph Agency to the weekly meetings of the secretaries and heads of the Central Committee departments. This will help them to be better informed and to have closer contact with the Central Committee leadership. It would be useful to think about a similar step for improving the information level of other leaders of journalist collectives by the republic Supreme Soviet and government as well as the local party committees.

We feel that our plenum cannot help but voice its attitude also toward the stance of certain central publications in treating the events in Dushanbe, particularly during the first days.

In exaggerating the question of interethnic conflict and in showing the role and actions of the law enforcement bodies, the subunits of the Interior Troops and the Soviet Army in a distorted manner, they confused the minds and hearts of people and noticeably delayed the processes of stabilizing the situation. At the same time, they overlooked many vivid examples of good relations, mutual respect and mutual understanding between the residents of the city of Dushanbe and the soldiers and these you and I know about.

Great responsibility rests on the mass information media—their leaders, the journalists and primarily the communists—for the treatment of other acute problems in the various spheres of our life. There are questions which should be constantly in their field of vision. For example, we cannot permit excessive zeal of bias in examining the course of carrying out the Language Law. Incidentally, this also is true of other ideological concerns. A shortage or distorted information on the given question create prejudiced opinions on its supposedly slow introduction.

In this regard, let me remind you that the law which, incidentally, was adopted first in our republic in the Central Asian Region, contains 37 articles. Some 21 of these have come into force as of 1 January of the current year. The 16 others will be introduced gradually. Chiefly, these are the provisions the implementation of which requires major material outlays such as the training of specialists, translators, and equipping auditoriums for simultaneous translation. And here one cannot go outside the available opportunities.

What has been done and what is being done now? Courses and circles have been organized for the study of the Tajik language in Arabic script. The Soyuztorgoborudovaniye [All-Union Office Equipment] Association is filling an order to manufacture 1,200 typewriters for typing in the Tajik language. The enterprises, organizations, some 28 ministries, state committees, executive

committees of the oblast, city and rayon soviets are beginning to do their office work and organize various measures in Tajik.

As of February, the Terminology Committee of the Tajik Academy of Sciences was reconstituted and began operating. The Ministry of Public Education has opened up courses for simultaneous interpretation. The Ministry of Communications without any restrictions is accepting and transmitting telegrams in the Tajik language.

For the mastery of the Tajik language and for its use in performing service duties, by a decision of the republic Council of Ministers a monetary surpayment is to be paid to the Russian-speaking portion of the population.

They have increased the number of hours for studying the Tajik language in the 4th-5th and 9th-10th grades of the Tajik schools. In parallel, new curricula, textbooks and teaching aids are being prepared. The Tajik State Committee for the Press has published dictionaries, phrase books and a teach-yourself handbook for the Tajik language in Arabic script.

On the pages of the newspapers KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, KOMSOMOLETS TADZHIKISTANA, VECHERNIY DUSHANGE and PIONER TADZHIKISTANA there are lessons in the Tajik language. Special time has been set aside for this on the radio and television. A constituent congress of the Tajik Language Fund has been held and at present there are around 2 million rubles on its account.

The Ministry of Justice and its Department for the Registering of Civil Acts, according to the recently adopted Ukase of the Presidium of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, is working to change for those who so desire the last names, first names and patronymics in accord with the traditional writing.

Cooperatives are being established which will be concerned in manufacturing signs in the Tajik language. Here special attention will be given to the accuracy of writing the name of the institution, enterprise, organization and so forth.

At the same time, the journalists must pay attention to the fact that the necessary measures are being carried out far from everywhere to organize this work. Here they should mention specific addresses and inform the public of those who bear personal responsibility for the complete execution of the very important political decision.

We recommend a similar approach for the communist leaders of the Tajik Council of Ministers. They must more strictly supervise the fulfilling of their own decree and deal with those who are slow or indifferent in this important undertaking.

The leaders of the local soviets must also show proper principledness and tenacity here.

At the same time, we must eliminate the artificial tension among the non-Tajik-speaking population over

the introduction of individual articles of the given law. The law is not directed against the representatives of any nation. It is founded on a healthy base. The Tajik people are hopeful that their brothers of different nationalities will show understanding and proper respect for their desire to maintain and develop their mother tongue. Along with the state language, much has been done for the ubiquitous study of Russian, as well as the languages of the other peoples residing in our republic and for which the Tajik people hold proper respect and are creating for their development a normal moral-psychological climate within which all the republic citizens will feel themselves to be full members in the common home of Soviet people.

Comrades! At present, the public has a particular, exacting interest in all involved with the actions of the MVD bodies in the February events.

An analysis of the past events has disclosed an exceptional role for the law enforcement bodies under the new conditions. And I should say with all frankness that they have turned out to be insufficiently prepared for work in emergency situations.

Here one can feel first of all the poor ties with the public, the neglect of preventive work, the low professionalism and the absence of clear guidance in the developing situation as certainly there has been not a single unsanctioned meeting without some preparatory work going on.

The meeting of 11 February did not serve as a serious caution. At that time, there were virtually no Interior Troops in the city. The first 150 men arrived only in the morning of 12 February. The organizers of the pogrom had to be countered by a small number of persons who did not have any experience, proper supplies or the necessary equipment.

But we must give them their due as they all met the danger head-on. Among the 715 persons who were injured during the February events and sought medical aid, some 205 were police workers and servicemen from the Interior Troops. Even now, 43 persons are being treated. There were also casualties. The death of people is a tragedy for the people but this is our common pain.

Unfortunately, during the first days it was not possible to achieve the observance of all measures provided by marshal law and the curfew or for ensuring law and order and the safety of the citizens.

All of this requires a most careful analysis, balanced conclusions and immediate measures. This analysis should be the concern of not only the leaders of the administrative bodies but also the communists working in them and their primary party organizations. Correct conclusions are the guarantee that in the future errors and mistakes will not be made. This is the main, most essential task.

What must be done first? First of all, the public must be given assurances that anything of the sort will not be repeated.

At present, a preliminary investigation is underway. More than 70 investigators are involved in this work from the procurator's office (including the military), the MVD and the KGB. Highly skilled specialists are at work from the USSR procurator's office and MVD. All the instances of pogroms, hooliganism, the causing of bodily injury to citizens, robbery and larceny and the theft of state and private property are being investigated. All the circumstances of the death of people are being carefully examined and the validity of the employing of weapons by co-workers from the internal affairs bodies and the servicemen of the Interior Troops and Soviet Army is being checked out.

As of 2 March of this year, some 46 direct participants in the events of 12-14 February have been charged with the committing of crimes and arrested. Some 4 of them had previous criminal records and 12 were neither in school nor employed.

The past events have shown that there is the immediate task of strengthening the internal affairs bodies, immediately solving the questions of their technical outfitting and increasing the requirements on their professional, moral and civil qualities.

The corresponding assignments have been given to the Central Committee Buro. Clearly, the aid of the USSR MVD is indispensable and the republic government has already turned there.

It is essential to review the criteria for recruiting for the police and officer candidates for the schools of the USSR MVD considering their moral and political qualities and physical training.

It is essential to strengthen the ties of the police with the masses who showed an ability to act in a courageous and organized manner. An example of this was the organizing even during the first days of the emergency of self-defense detachments which provided great help in maintaining public order in the microrayons and labor collectives. Most sincere thanks to them!

This is all now in the past. A close study of all aspects of the activities of these formations, the determining of their role in the future and the converting of them into a strong social force are a duty of the party organizations. Here we must notice the activeness of the party gorkom and capital raykoms and certain people's deputies.

At present, the local soviets must strengthen this collaboration and on the basis of the self-defense detachments establish effective self-administering bodies in the microrayons but obviously within the context of the soviets.

This work should be headed and deepened by the communists, the primary party organizations, the party raykoms and soviets. I am certain that only in helping

one another and in cooperating can we achieve a complete stabilization of the situation in Dushanbe and throughout the republic.

But we must also be concerned for a certain manifestation of extremism, when individual groups endeavor to establish different interunions and interfronts in this environment. At first glance, there is seemingly nothing wrong with this. But if one analyzes carefully certain programs which individual groups have proposed, it can be seen that they bear not a stabilizing influence but in some places, on the contrary, could have a negative impact on interethnic relations. This is not a simple question. We must not be guided by momentary advantage and emotions in resolving such major questions.

In order for this not to happen, it is essential to deepen explanatory work among the public, and here directly in the labor collectives and at the place of residence. Let me particularly emphasize the prospects of work at the place of residence. It is vitally important to shift in parallel the center of gravity of our political work precisely into the microrayons. We need not opposition, not mutual complaints and ultimatums but rather unity and collaboration in all areas for the sake of law and order and the safety of people.

One other thing. At present, it is perfectly clear that one of the reasons for the improper conduct of a portion of the youth was their legal illiteracy. We must set for ourselves the task of the ubiquitous organization universal legal instruction. We have said a great deal about this but have done extremely little. Personally responsible for this are the communists heading the appropriate subdivisions of the Ministry of Justice and the other law enforcement bodies, legal science, institutions of learning and the Komsomol. They, together with the Union of Lawyers and the mass information media, should develop true universal legal instruction.

The most important task is the strengthening of the fight against crime. As for now this is going on quite poorly. On 26 February, the Central Committee Buro specially examined the work of the law enforcement bodies in Dushanbe and assessed this extremely negatively.

We are concerned by the fact that many crimes remain unsolved while for others the investigation lasts for years. There have been frequent instances when the violators of the laws have escaped responsibility. And this also causes valid indignation among people, in one way or another it helps to increase tension, and undermines belief in social justice and the strength of Soviet laws. The people have ceased believing many workers and subdivisions of the law enforcement bodies.

At meetings in the labor collectives they speak openly and directly about this without beating around the bush. They do not conceal the fact that they doubt the honesty and decency of many servants of the law, and they speak about the collusion between individual co-workers and criminal elements as well as about corruption in the bodies. The people are demanding a fundamental change

in this work. These feelings of the people are known to the communist leaders of the law enforcement bodies. We would not err if at the plenum we were to say that one of the prime causes of social discontent and social tension is precisely the uncertainty of people as to whether we are capable of imposing proper public order in the city of Dushanbe and throughout the republic as a whole. This is a political conclusion and it is based on the opinion of people who have spoken openly of this at meetings with the members of the Central Committee Buro, in the labor collectives and in the Tajik CP Central Committee.

The party committees and the leaders of the soviet bodies, the law enforcement departments and all communists working in this sphere should be profoundly aware that the authority of the party organizations and power in the republic presently depends upon how quickly and effectively we can bring about a major change precisely in the area of protecting public order and in combating crime, speculation and theft. It is the duty of each communist, each worker in the law enforcement bodies and every primary party organization to assist in carrying out this task in a dedicated, professional and effective manner.

The plenum should instruct the communist leaders of the law enforcement bodies in the very near future to report publically on the work that has been done and inform the republic public how they intend to work in the future.

Comrades! Although we have decided that a detailed analysis of the republic's socioeconomic development will be made at the soon-to-be-held Tajik CP Congress, nevertheless we cannot help but bring this up at the plenum. Certainly it is here precisely that the objective reasons for social tension are to be found as this appeared in the form of meetings and demonstrations in mid-February.

What has been done and what must be done to overcome the lag and eliminate the problems in the socioeconomic sphere of the republic?

At present, there is neither the place nor the time to speak about the positive that has been done. The fact that the people are poorly informed of this is also our fault and this is the result of underestimating up-to-date and constant information.

It also must be said that everything that has now been done is clearly insufficient and in no measures meets the needs of the public.

The people with good justification want to have not just a roof over their heads but rather fully-equipped housing and purchase not merely commodities but high-quality and modern articles.

They are demanding not just any job but a job to their liking, near their home with normal working conditions. They want to eat better and bring up their children so

that they grow up healthy. How can we blame anybody for such desires and demands?

This is why it is so essential to have an interrelated group of fundamental measures to emerge from this situation, to decisively eliminate a number of restraining factors and move more quickly ahead in resolving our urgent problems.

Take the questions of providing the public with housing and other facilities in the social sphere. For example, in 1986-1988 in comparison with the 4 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan, with a 13 percent increase in the population, the completion of housing increased by 34 percent, hospital beds by 6 percent, children's preschool institutions by 36 percent, general education schools by 48 percent and polyclinics by 2.8-fold.

But as before all problems of housing and sociodomic services remain acute. There are over 150,000 families on the waiting lists to receive housing in the republic. And the line moves very, very slowly. What is the reason for such a situation?

Without justifying our insufficient work, let us all the same recall the fact that virtually every year the republic has been struck by natural disaster. In recent years there have been earthquakes in Dzhrigatal, in the GBAO [Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast] and in Gissarskiy Rayon. The moving of the Medvezhiy Glacier has caused serious harm. The overcoming of the consequences of these phenomena has diverted major sources and resources of the republic and this naturally could not help but be reflected in the increase rate of housing, social, domestic and cultural facilities.

The scale of our losses is such that up to the present it has been impossible to completely eliminate the consequences of the earthquakes in Dzhrigatal'skiy, Khodzhtentskiy and Gissarskiy Rayons. In the last of these, several thousand persons are still without housing. We must build over 1,000 houses, not to mention other facilities.

To this we must add the problems caused by interruptions in material-technical supply and the scarcity of resources. With all of this we must also consider other factors such as the unsatisfactory work of the construction organizations, the incompetence and inertia of certain leaders of the construction system and the absence of proper exactingness and responsibility.

Do our people know about all of this? Are we explaining our difficulties and our shortcomings in a well-reasoned and honest manner? Are we mobilizing public opinion to overcome them? No. There is no such system of explanatory work. And the corresponding conclusions must be drawn from this.

What specific measures are now being undertaken to solve the housing problem and develop the entire social sphere? In the first place, in the capital investment

structure, beginning with the third year, we have increased the share of housing and sociocultural construction.

Secondly, the capacity of the construction industry and the building materials industry is being increased.

Thirdly, the construction of housing and other social projects is being increased using the funds of enterprises, organizations and institutions.

Fourthly, along with the development of housing construction using state capital investments, conditions have been created for the intensive development of individual housing construction. We have increased the granting of credits, plots of land and the sale of building materials to individual builders. While in 1975-1985, some 196 hectares of land were allocated for farmstead plots and housing construction, in 1986-1989, the figures was over 5,800 hectares, that is, more than 72,000 plots. The allocating of plots of land is continuing.

It is the duty of all the party organizations, the labor collectives, the soviet bodies, the ministries and departments and the government to carry out what has been planned with maximum effort.

Another important problem is the employment of the population, particularly the youth, in social production. This is not only a socioeconomic question but also a political one. In recent years, a good effort has been made to solve it. Just during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the 4 years of the 12th Five-Year Plan, around 3 million new jobs have been created in the sectors of the republic economy.

However, the increase rate in the number of jobs has lagged significantly behind the increase rate of the working-age population and as a result of this there has been an increase in the absolute number of unemployed labor resources. This is also one of the main reasons for social tension.

At present, over 140,000 of the able-bodied population, basically young people, want to work under the condition of bringing jobs closer to the place of residence. This circumstance underlies the comprehensive long-range program for employing labor resources as worked out upon the initiative of the Central Committee and the republic government; work has already commenced in implementing this.

Among the measures being carried out, we could also mention the accelerated development of orchard-vineyard and vegetable farms, the establishing of affiliates of large enterprises, the construction of small and medium enterprises in areas where free labor resources are concentrated, and the reestablishing on a new basis of the villages from whence people were moved into the cotton-growing zones.

The effective involvement of the party organizations and the managerial structures in their implementation will make it possible in the forthcoming five-year plan to

involve over a quarter of a million persons in social production. We feel that at present for achieving the set target we must seek out an opportunity for the more accelerated implementation of this program considering the existing circumstances.

It must be pointed out that under the conditions of the republic's transition to self-administration and self-financing, the increased role of the soviets, and the strengthening of their economic base in creating new jobs and in solving social problems, initiative should be shown primarily by the local soviets, the enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

For example, additional pension payments have been set at a number of enterprises and on 97 kolkhozes. Nutritional standards have been increased in the nurseries and creches, and the first steps are being taken to organize meals for schoolchildren in the extended-day groups. However, we must immediately stipulate that as of now our capabilities make it possible to provide this to just 17 percent of the schoolchildren.

Since 1988, around 100 kolkhozes and sovkhoses annually have paid from their own funds over 700,000 rubles in the form of assistance to poorly-off mothers as well as the war and labor disabled. Large amounts are being spent on various payments, free meals, aid to pensioners, reduced-cost or free trips to Pioneer camps and so forth.

Income from cotton production is rising. Due to the increased prices for cotton in 1989, the cotton growers additionally received around 40 million rubles and in 1990, this additional payment will reach 63 million rubles, while from 1991, with the introduction of new purchasing prices, each year the additional income of the cotton-growing farms will be over 680 million rubles.

Upon the proposal of the Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers, the question is to be reviewed and settled of paying additional benefits to students living in private apartments and increasing their scholarship. In addition, the government and certain soviets are to settle the question of free meals in grades 1-4 of the general education schools. We must also say that in settling these questions it is desirable and essential to have the most effective involvement of the labor collectives, the cooperatives, kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

However, in all this work we lack real interest, coordination and the pooling of the capabilities of all the state and public formations.

I feel that precisely here Tadzhiksovprof [Tajik Central Trade Union Council] and the sectorial trade unions can prove themselves effective, in assuming the functions of the coordinators of the common efforts in resolving many social, cultural and domestic problems.

It is time for our trade unions to abandon their role as the passive distributors of their funds and benefits and

have a greater impact on their formation and rational utilization depending upon the social needs of the public.

The trade unions must no longer be left merely in the comfortable position of "arbiters" between the workers and the leaders, the various bodies and organizations. They must also assume the burden of responsibility for the educating and training of the collectives for life and activity under the conditions of the new labor and production relations and they must form a correct public opinion and healthy moral-psychological climate among the workers and peasant masses.

Comrades! For solving the urgent social problems, it is essential first of all to create a dependable base for the economy by improving the structure of the national economic sectors, reorienting its current raw material focus on producing end product as well as a fundamental rise in labor productivity. All of this must be provided in the general plan for converting the economy to economic independence.

However, I should say that the process of the final elaboration of the draft of this major sociopolitical document is going on intolerably slowly. Unfortunately, the ambitions of individual groups and the inability to find a reasonable compromise have emerged in the forefront while to a certain degree we can also feel a mistrust in our own scientific personnel.

As was recommended recently at the Central Committee Buro, the Tajik Council of Ministers should fundamentally alter its attitude toward carrying out this problem and together with the Academy of Sciences become the organizer and coordinator of the efforts of all the subdivisions and individual scientists for quickly elaborating an acceptable version for the draft of this general plan.

I am convinced that the draft, along with our general political platform, as was described above, should be brought up for public discussion by mid-April.

At the same time, it must always be remembered that the solving of long-range tasks entails primarily ensuring the rhythmical operation of industry, construction, transportation and the other national economic sectors as well as a ubiquitous strengthening of discipline.

It is essential not only to ensure accelerated development of the national economic sectors but also compensate for the damage caused by events in the city of Dushanbe. According to preliminary estimates, we must make up for over 51 million rubles in losses in the production and nonproduction spheres.

Work in this area is being carried out. But here there must be more active, clearly planned and coordinated moves by the Dushanbe Gorispolkom and by the republic ministries and departments. The pogroms and assaults which occurred in the capital and the firing of national economic facilities have stirred the population of Tajikistan. Upon the initiative of the labor collectives,

a special account has been opened for collecting money to rebuild what has been destroyed.

Here is a telegram which we received from the labor veteran Sharofat Makhmudova:

"In supporting the decision of the February Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee, on behalf of my family I am transferring a thousand rubles of my own savings to the fund for the reconstruction of the capital."

We are profoundly grateful to everyone who has supported this noble undertaking!

Comrades! I feel that at present no one should have any doubts about the fact that the disorders which occurred were directed at thwarting the elections of the Tajik people's deputies. Can it really be an accident that long before the named events, demands were made to extend the election campaign?

This question has been discussed very seriously and thoroughly. A decision was taken considering public opinion and this was to hold the elections at the designated date. As the development of events was to show, this decision politically was the only correct one.

The voters responded with organization and active involvement in the elections to the decision of the Extraordinary 17th Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee, having clearly affirmed their support of legality and order and loyalty to the course assumed by society for democratization and glasnost.

As a whole for the republic, 90 percent of the voters participated in the election campaign. In the city of Dushanbe, voter activeness was even higher than in the elections for the local soviets of 24 December last year.

As a result of the voting, republic people's deputies were elected in 118 districts out of 230. Run-off elections will be held on 4 and 9 March 1990 in 111 districts. A reelection will be held in one district.

At present, it would be premature to make any general conclusions on the results of the elections but we would still like to point out two aspects.

In the first place, the republic has done everything so that the deputy corps be formed in a democratic manner. Suffice it to say that as an average there were almost five candidates for each mandate and at the moment of registering there was not a single district without an alternative candidate.

Secondly, regardless of many attempts to blame the republic Communist Party of all the existing shortcomings and difficulties, the people provided an objective assessment of the role of the communists in the occurring processes. Suffice it to say that among the elected people's candidates, 95 percent were CPSU members.

At present, the task is to successfully carry out the run-offs and provide support for the worker representatives and, having completed the formation of the supreme body of republic government, with renewed energy to set to solving the urgent problems of socioeconomic and cultural development.

It would be wrong to wait until the official opening of the first session. The communist deputies must initiate the most active work even now. They must go to their voters, mobilize them and learn their opinion and desires. They must constantly study public opinion which changes dynamically.

At the same time, one cannot help but point out that, according to warnings received from the citizens, in the course of the elections there clearly were violations of legality and attempts were made to put pressure on the voters. It has been said that there was the abuse by individual candidate deputies of their official position. For each such instance, the Republic Electoral Commission together with the district electoral commissions should and already are carrying out a careful check and for all these questions the people should receive well-reasoned replies with subsequent conclusions in accord with the Electoral Law.

Comrades! The people have placed very high hopes on the new parliament in resolving the most urgent tasks. To fail to meet these hopes would mean to lose the trust which has been shown in a predominant majority to worthy office holders.

In this context, I would like to point out the fact that 2 months have already passed since the elections to the local bodies but no visible changes can be felt in their activities. Certainly time does not stand still. The people who have chosen their representatives to the local soviets are demanding concrete deeds from them.

In such a situation the communist deputies of the local soviets must set an example of activeness, initiative in carrying out the orders of the voters and must show a state approach in resolving urgent socioeconomic questions.

We feel that close attention must also be paid to another aspect.

Having resolved the organizational questions relating to the forming of the soviets, we must completely carry out the process of delimiting the functions of the soviets and their executive bodies from the party committees. Unfortunately, for now these relations are based on old principles and the presidiums of the soviets in fact do not realize their legitimate power on the spot.

We must help them in more quickly finding their place in the general state structure so that they can actually carry out Lenin's slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!"

Under these conditions, the party should find its worthy place as the vanguard in sociopolitical life. We should all seek out and find the answers to the arising questions of

the communists and nonparty persons. At present, when an active discussion is underway in the party organizations of the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Party Congress, the republic communists should define their tasks over the immediate future. The strategic goal is the democratization of all party life and its restructuring. We place great hopes for the effectiveness of this restructuring on the report-election campaign which has commenced in our party organizations and which will be completed by the 21st Tajik CP Congress.

We see our task in organizing and holding the reports and elections under the new conditions, on the basis of the draft Platform of the CPSU Central Committee in a true democratic manner so that the communists feel personal involvement in the restructuring of party life. It is no secret that the multitiered practice which has existed for decades in the electing of party committees has actually removed the rank-and-file communists from the forming of party bodies.

For this reason, we feel that the elections of delegates to the conferences and the congress should be carried out with the direct participation of each primary party organization and all the communists. Here the elections should be direct and on an alternative basis. We must give up once and for all the infamous practice of forming elective bodies by preappointment.

Having studied the numerous proposals from the spot, we are submitting for review by the plenum members the following procedure for electing delegates:

In the first place. We propose that it would be correct for the primary party organizations in which the number of CPSU members corresponds to the standard of representation be given the right to elect delegates to the 21st Communist Party Congress directly and on an alternative basis.

Secondly, all the remaining primary party organizations, including the small ones, are to be brought together according to the regional principle and will also elect on a direct and alternative basis delegates to the Tajik CP Congress.

Thirdly, the lists of the delegates to the 21st Congress, the oblast and Dushanbe city party conferences are to be reviewed and approved at the city and rayon party conferences. As for the electing of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress, proposals have been handed out to the plenum participants and after their discussion the corresponding decree will be adopted.

The communists of the republic party organization are taking an active part in preparing the new CPSU Bylaws. In particular, they have proposed setting out in the preamble of the Bylaws a provision that membership in the CPSU is incompatible with activities in the sociopolitical independent organizations of an antiparty, anti-Soviet sort. The opinion has also been voiced that the CPSU Bylaws should reflect a provision for the party

line to be carried out through the communists working in the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the state and public organizations.

There have also been numerous proposals aimed at the democratization of internal party life. The communists support the proposal in the Platform of the CPSU Central Committee on raising the independence of the party organizations on the questions of party construction, for granting them the final right of admission to the party, the abandoning of candidate status as well as rigid limits on membership according to numbers or social status. The primary party organizations should themselves determine whom is to be admitted to their ranks.

We very frequently urge the broadening of the rights of the primary organizations which are the basis of the party. However, this does not actually happen. Many primary party organizations and party committees as before continue to live in the old manner, they wait for instructions from above, and are clearly late in carrying out democratic changes. Frequently they do not show initiative and for this reason their renewal is occurring slowly and in similar situations particular responsibility rests on the rayon party unit. The demands on it should be appropriate.

During the period of the report-election campaign, it is very important to focus attention on the practical solution to the problems which are raised everywhere at the assemblies and meetings of the labor collectives and serve as grounds for valid criticism of the party organizations. The reports and elections must be held in a situation of broad glasnost as well as constructive and comradely debate.

There must be a careful analysis of the passive, idle position assumed by individual party members and party workers. There have been instances of their compromising of the party by personal immodesty, by shifting to nationalistic and chauvinistic positions or siding with various destructive groups of people and antisocial elements.

I intentionally have not touched on the question of cadres. Today is not the time for any hurried, poorly conceived decisions. Although the plenum members and the public are expecting such decisions from us and this expectation is completely justified. But it should be clear to all that the February events better than any questionnaire disclosed the professional, political and moral qualities of many. Some acted as true communists along with the people, for the sake of the people, while others assumed a passive, wait-and-see stance. But we, without departing from our principled positions, should show restraint and patience and we should stand above our personal insults and experiences. We must not hurry and we must consider the demands of the CPSU Bylaws, party ethics and common sense.

Let us inform the primary party organizations in detail, let us focus them on strengthening work in instilling political culture and raising the prestige of those party

members who are waging an uncompromising fight against negative phenomena; we should be more decisively concerned with their social protection.

In the course of the reports and elections, the closest attention of the mass information media should be paid to all these questions. It is important to ensure broad glasnost of the meetings and here of particular significance are the generalizing of the acquired experience and a principled criticism of shortcomings.

At present, the Tajik CP Central Committee has received many proposals aimed at improving the structure of the apparatus of the party committees, the work style of the party organizations and their elective bodies. For example, the idea has been voiced of completely eliminating the sectorial departments in the Central Committee and the party obkoms, and it has been proposed that the raykoms in the city of Dushanbe be abolished, thereby strengthening the party gorkom. It has been proposed that the party committees be abolished in the oblast centers and there be only one department for political organizational work in the gorkoms and raykoms.

There are also proposals to form the apparatus of the party committees on an alternative, competitive basis and on the need to establish conditions making it possible to attract well-trained, educated party members to work in them. Clearly, many of these proposals are questionable. For this reason, they must be thoroughly studied. In addition, there is appropriate experience from other regions of the nation. All of this must be employed in order to bring the structure of the party committees into conformity with the demands of the times.

Comrades! Life in the republic has recently been accompanied by acute complications which have disclosed problems that have built up over many years in the sphere of the economy, social and interethnic relations, in the spiritual and cultural life of the people.

Such is the reality which was ultimately disclosed by the recent tragic events in the city of Dushanbe as well as the tense situation in certain other regions of the republic.

It should be said with all certainty that I, as the first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, cannot escape responsibility for the sociopolitical situation which has come into being in the republic as well as the socioeconomic situation. I feel that other buro members will also voice their own personal position. Now with even greater acuteness I understand that in many instances, in being guided, as it seemed to us, by humane, ethical considerations, my comrades and I on the Buro did not show sufficient firmness, decisiveness and exactingness in terms of the communist leaders who abused their official position, who violated party morality and did not carry out the duties assigned to them. This could not help but be reflected in the course of the perestroyka processes or on the carrying out of political and economic reform in the republic. This

could not help but tell on the attitudes of people and on their relation to the party leaders and the republic Communist Party as a whole.

The proper lessons have been drawn from all of this. There has been a major change in the work of the buro members. We all responsibly realize that we have reached a line beyond which there can commence a process of a weakening of administration capable of again engendering instability and at the same time the uncertainty of others in their tomorrow. If we do not redirect the course of events toward constructive decisions and practical deeds, this may entail severe consequences for the republic and its people.

The main thing at present is to act decisively, to work energetically for a high effect from all the measures planned by us. For this the appropriate background is being created in the nation and the corresponding moral and psychological climate exists also in our republic.

Recently, the Decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Establishing the Post of USSR President" was published. One cannot help but realize that the necessity of a new form of government is dictated not by any momentary considerations. This decision is dictated by life itself and is a logical consequence of the process of democratic changes in the nation.

On the other hand, a transition to a multiparty system as proclaimed in the Platform adopted at the February (1990) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee requires adequate changes also in the nation's state structure.

I feel that you all would agree that the question of a presidency has reached its time and requires an immediate solution. I feel that this idea will be supported by the current plenum, by the broad masses and by the majority of our republic's population.

Under the conditions of the further improvement in state administration, we should approach our congress strong, renewed in our thoughts and plans and confident in our abilities to ensure forward movement in all spheres of our life.

This confidence must be transferred to all communists and to the working people in the congress decisions, having placed man at the center of social development and having provided guarantees for a peaceful, viable life and creative labor, for social justice and democratic liberties and the opportunities of satisfying one's spiritual needs.

It is precisely with such a content that we should fill out the party platform which is to be worked out and adopted at the 21st Tajik CP Congress. No one can swerve us now from this position for behind us are the trust and will of the working people and of all healthy forces in the republic.

Tajik CP CC Buro Meets 28 March

90US0775A Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 30 Mar 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Tajik CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] The regular session of the Tajik CP Central Committee buro that was held on 28 March 1990 discussed the question of the preparation for the 120th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin.

The buro considered the rate of construction of projects intended for housing and social-cultural purposes in Dzhirgatal'skiy Rayon. It was noted that the construction of projects in the social sphere in that rayon has been carried out unsatisfactorily since the 1984 earthquake.

Communist administrators of TaSSR Gosstroy, Gosagroprom, Gosplan, Minzhilkomkhoz [Ministry of Housing and Municipal Economy], Minzdrav [Ministry of Health], and Minobrazovaniya [Ministry of Education], and the Khizmat concern have taken a negligent attitude toward the construction of the planned projects intended for housing and everyday-cultural purposes in that rayon.

The Central Committee buro proposed to TaSSR Council of Ministers that steps be taken to accelerate the rayon's social and economic development.

The party's Dzhirgatal'skiy Rayon Committee was instructed to evaluate strictly and from a well-principled position the activities of the economic administrators and the Communists in the executive committee of the rayon soviet of people's deputies in resolving the questions of providing social services to the rayon's population, to stop any manifestations of a dependent's attitude, and to increase the participation rate of the primary party organizations and labor collectives in the search for and use of reserves for the accelerated resolution of the social problems. It was instructed to establish effective monitoring of the fulfillment of the plans for the construction of housing and everyday-cultural projects, and to intensify glasnost in the work of implementing them.

The Central Committee buro adopted Tadzhiksovprom's [Tajik Council of Trade Unions] proposal concerning the publication of a republic trade-union newspaper. The newspaper will be published starting on 1 June 1990, with a volume of eight pages of the PRAVDA tabloid format, to be published once a week, with a printing run of 25,000 copies. The paper and expenses to maintain the editorial apparatus will be found by Tadzhiksovprom. It was recommended, by means of a study of public opinion, to determine the name of the newspaper and the desirability of publishing it in two or three languages.

In the decision that was adopted with regard to the results of the republic's student forum and the work that was done by the TaSSR delegation at the all-union student forum, the Central Committee's Ideological

Department, the Leninabad, Kulyab, and Kurgan-Tyube party obkoms, and the party's Dushanbe gorkom, and the primary party organizations of the higher educational institutions were instructed to take steps to improve fundamentally the political work among the student body.

It was recommended that the problems of intensifying the indoctrinational work among the student body be considered at the republic seminar-conference of secretaries of party organizations and the aktiv of the higher educational institutions.

It was recommended to the administrators of party, soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol agencies that they continue the open dialogue everywhere with the young students and schoolchildren, reconsider the organizational and ideological forms of working with the student body, and make meetings and conversations with the students and schoolchildren a regular and traditional feature.

TaSSR Ministry of Public Education and the administrators of the republic's higher educational institutions, together with the party committees, have been instructed to take major steps to restructure the training of the students and schoolchildren in the humanities and in political science and to involve them in the thorough study of Marxist-Leninist theory as a cognitive method and invaluable means of forming a high level of culture in the humanities and political science among the future specialists. In 1990-1991, retraining is to be provided for the cadres in the social sciences. The attempt will be made to staff the social-studies departments at the higher educational institutions with newly formed scientific-pedagogical cadres that conform to the ideals and goals of perestroika.

For purposes of improving the quality of specialist training, reinforcing the material base, providing modern scientific-technical equipment to the educational institutions, and resolving the social problems of the collectives at the higher educational institutions, a greater effort will be made to develop contractual relations between the higher educational institutions and enterprises. The mass media are to throw more light on the life of the student body and schoolchildren.

The buro approved measures to improve the work with the people's deputies from among workers and ordinary kolkhoz members.

It adopted the recommendation from the Institute of Party History, under Tajik CP Central Committee, and the Institute of History imeni A. Donish, TaSSR Academy of Sciences, to commemorate in April 1990 the 90th anniversary of the birth of Abdurakhim Khadzhibayev, chairman of the TaSSR Soviet of People's Commissars.

To perpetuate the memory of A. Khadzhibayev, a memorial plaque will be installed on the building of TaSSR Council of Ministers. To perpetuate the memory

of his comrade in arms, Nusratullo Makhsum, a memorial plaque will be installed on the former building of the TaSSR TsIK [Central Executive Committee], currently occupied by TaSSR Gosagroprom.

The Tajik CP Central Committee buro took a positive attitude toward the establishment in the republic of a fund to support talented young people and recommended to the republic government that it resolve the questions linked with the creation of the fund.

The Tajik CP Central Committee buro rehabilitated from the point of view of party status Mansur Akramov (Dushanbe), Ravshan Ismatov (Sovetskiy Rayon), Khubonsho Kirmanshoyev (Khorog), Saidkudus Mansurov (Shugnanskiy Rayon), Gulan Miraliyev (Sovetskiy Rayon), Shokomol Saidkurulayev (Shugnanskiy Rayon), Ismat Khalifayev (Sovetskiy Rayon), and Pulat Umarov (Ashtskiy Rayon), who had been repressed in 1937-1938.

The buro considered and adopted decisions dealing with a number of other questions of party construction and the republic's socioeconomic development.

Economic, Political Dissatisfaction in Urals Described

904A0325A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by V. Mosunov, "950" press operator, secretary of the party committee of the rail and tie shop of the Nizhniy Tagil metallurgical complex: "The Urals: Desire for Change. Perestroyka's Success Depends on Each and Every One of Us"]

[Text] *Every day, life throws new challenges at us. But the main question that bothers me is why the five years of perestroyka have not made us richer and why we have lost even our modest economic gains. Several days ago the oblast party conference was completed. It seems we discussed everything and mentioned many problems at it. But I still feel concern and fear for the fate of perestroyka and, ultimately, the people in our workers' region: metal workers, miners, machine builders, lumberjacks and workers from other industries.*

Sverdlovsk Oblast has an enormous potential, both industrial and scientific. We have enterprises belonging to over 300 union and republic agencies. It is a full range of industries. The paradox is that we have everything except the most important thing, prosperity.

Judging by the speeches of the delegates to the conference—I was among them—our work has not deteriorated and our contribution to the state economy is still sizeable. Although last year, our Nizhniy Tagil metallurgical complex had to borrow money from the nation, it happened not because we have grown lazy or no longer work well. No, the ministry was siphoning short-term profits from the collective without concern for the future.

I will be honest, oblast labor collectives have tried to learn new forms of economic management. As noted at the conference, in the past years the financial condition of enterprises has improved, they began to show profit and the number of loss-making enterprises decreased. Especially pleasing was the fact that the growth rate in consumer goods production exceeded the plan. But this gives little reason to rejoice: our store shelves are still bare. Where are our quality vacuum cleaners, washing machines, furniture, fabrics and knitwear? The center takes the lion's share of everything.

To say that we, Urals residents, are hurt is an understatement. The essentially colonial policy of ministries and agencies toward the Urals hurts us not only economically but morally, too. Speculation thrives and the faith of the people in social justice is being undermined.

We are tired of empty talk of independence for labor collectives: agencies do not want us to become masters in our own home. And yet, it is economic freedom that we need to be able to solve problems of our living conditions. Enterprises are still in the administrative vice of the agencies. Collectives lack elementary rights. Judge for yourselves: 20 million cubic meters of lumber is harvested in the Central Urals, but the oblast cannot find lumber to build housing and other facilities. We produce millions of tons of metal and pipe, cement and brick and easily overfulfill the plan for linoleum, ceramic tiles and other construction materials. Yet, the "Housing" program is lagging behind due to shortages of just such materials.

This year, the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab budgeted R200 million in funds and resources for the "Sreduralstroy" complex. What does this number mean? The oblast has met its obligations to clients, but we are being painted into a corner. Last year, Central Urals enterprises surpassed the profits target by R360 million. Yet, we live like paupers.

Social injustice on the part of ministerial princelings leads to an unstable situation and creates discontent among the people. In the final analysis, it also undermines the authority of the party. This is why hotheads blame us for all the problems. Of course, there is no smoke without fire. But the situation worsened because of many factors, including slow perestroyka processes in the party and in our oblast organization. But what makes people dejected most? The worsening of the situation in the socio-economic sphere. Not only the construction program for housing and medical facilities is failing, but the one for schools is, as well. We have long become accustomed and reconciled to getting 800 grams of rationed sausage and a bar of soap per person per month. People have no certainty that order will return soon and the situation will stabilize.

I repeat, the crisis has many causes. But I am most concerned with the situation in the party. For instance, there was a clear split at the oblast party conference. Democratic Platform supporters were eager to blame all

our woes on the party and its leadership, both locally and at the center. I agree, there have been miscalculations—major ones, too. The blindness and passivity of some party apparatchiks doubtless undermined the authority of the party. But is the entire CPSU to blame? Last year in Sverdlovsk Oblast some 400,000 members left it. But none of the former communists named the primary organization as the cause of the decline in authority. Let me cite what in my view is a typical example. Brylyakov, a metal heater at our complex, wrote in his request to leave the party that he had been firmly convinced that our vanguard was doing everything to help the people live better. But time was passing, he worked hard and took part in the work of the party organization, yet, there was no change. Brylyakov's father had joined the party at the front, in 1941. Now he has a pension of R68.50 a month. Recently, it was raised by a ruble and a half. It is not hard to understand the father and the son who were shortchanged by life in every respect.

Most workers leaving the party do it easily and painlessly. Some people try to portray it as a process of self-purification. I do not agree. When the party is being abandoned by representatives of the class it is supposed to serve, whose interests it is meant to protect, it is different. I think that we must stop this extremely troubling and even fatal process. Naturally, the party must free itself of those who, by their deeds, have caused moral or material damage to society.

We are surprised and outraged by the timidity of oblast leaders of every rank, both party and soviet, who are unable to protect the interests of the oblast population against central authorities. It so happened historically that the Urals produce 86 percent of Group A output. Yet, in all developed countries, consumer goods production is dominant. We must think about the people, and not about furnaces, conveyer belts and bulldozers, behind which it is hard to notice the individual.

The soil is of poor quality in the northern part of the oblast. Nothing ever grew there except for rye and oats. Only 6 percent of the oblast workforce works on the countryside. This figure keeps shrinking. More than 100

villages and towns are threatened with total extinction. This population structure is not our fault: it was presumably good for the nation. Let the nation now repay its debt to us by restoring and rebuilding the countryside. Yet, former CPSU Central Committee secretary V. Nikonov and Ye. Ligachev, who is still at his post, were not embarrassed to call us freeloaders. They, great agricultural experts, have determined that we must be able to feed ourselves.

Such an assessment of our work and living conditions stirred great resentment among the population. The insult still rankles. If you do not want to give us anything, we will do without it. We are no poor relations. We have everything, from construction materials to furs and precious metals. Leave us part of what we produce to barter for an equivalent amount in food and consumer goods. Workers' Urals, the mainstay of the country, has earned its right to it long ago.

Yet, our oblast party organization and local soviets lack firmness and persistence in protecting the interests of the region's population against ministries and agencies. By the will of the center we, and the residents of other regions too, have become hostages of the administrative command system. Rallies and strikes in Sverdlovsk, Nizhniy Tagil, Kamensk-Uralskiy and Severouralsk confirm this view. Thus far, they have been conducted in an orderly way.

The authority of the party is earned by communists, both rank-and-file and famous ones. It is lowered by all members, too. Last fall, our complex had a visit from S. Kolpakov, the minister of metallurgy. We had many questions for him and the labor collective sent a group of representatives to meet with him. It included 11 party members. Yet, S. Kolpakov, a member of the CPSU Central Committee, did not want to listen to us and refused to meet with the group.

If such is the basis for our dialogue with the leadership, the party and its leaders will not earn our respect. And perestroika will never move forward. We want to accelerate it. And we will not shun responsibility, unlike our minister.

Committee Chairman on Armenian Refugee Resettlement Issues

90US0640A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
20 Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with G. Azatyan, chairman of the State Committee to Receive and Settle Returning Armenians, by M. Grigoryan: "Refugees: Finding a Homeland"]

[text] The third wave of Armenians forcibly deported from Azerbaijan that hit in the middle of last month was doubtless the most tragic. People arrived who had miraculously escaped a terrible death and who had personally witnessed the brutal murders of their fellow Armenians. People whose personal property was stolen and whose apartments were trashed with impunity before their very eyes. Beaten, tormented, offended, deprived of everything and driven from their "native" city, they landed on Armenian soil aware, initially, of just one thing: Here their lives were out of danger. And only then, apparently, did it dawn on them how many difficulties still lay ahead of them before they would reacquire inner calm and the warmth of a native hearth. For they were received by a land that is wounded and half destroyed after a catastrophic earthquake, a land that has already offered refuge to 220,000 refugees and that is itself being throttled in the clutches of the third economic blockade in the past six months.

All the same, it is their native land and it is receiving them and providing them with the most necessary things in the initial period. In December of last year the State Committee to Receive and Settle Returning Armenians was set up. The committee's offices at 48 Nalbandyan Street are receiving hundreds of people these days, each with his own problems and hopes. Our talk with the chairman of the committee, G. Azatyan, deals with the refugees' present situation, the work being done by the committee, and what awaits these people tomorrow.

[Grigoryan] Genrikh Gevorkovich, the work of two refugee commissions—and subsequently of two administrations—preceded the founding of the new agency. What was behind this decision and what are the committee's basic functions with respect to receiving and settling returning Armenians?

[Azatyan] The first governmental commission on refugees was founded in the spring of 1988, when the first flow of refugees appeared in Armenia following the Sumgait tragedy. In the fall, when the process became a bidirectional one and the situation got out of control, the second commission was created. It must be said that one of the commissions—the one headed by V. Movsesyan, first vice-chairman of the republic Council of Ministers—is operating successfully to this day and is doing a great deal of work.

The refugee administration that was subsequently formed proved unable to cope, and indeed could not have coped with its assigned task because of its limited capabilities. A great many people, even today, don't understand the full extent and seriousness of the refugee

problem. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that it arose against a backdrop of the earthquakes's ruinous consequences and the republic's difficult economic situation. Solving this problem will require immense efforts on the part of all party, Soviet and public bodies, and the mobilization of all our republic's resources. In view of the problem's extreme gravity, the State Committee was set up in December 1989; by virtue of its status and the powers granted it, the committee is to focus the efforts and capabilities of ministries, departments and public organizations on solving all vitally important questions having to do with refugees. Today, of course, that is our basic concern, but the scope of the state committee's activities also includes repatriation of the internal diaspora.

[Grigoryan] The press is giving rather extensive coverage to the refugee problem. Nonetheless, describe briefly, if you would, the present-day situation.

[Azatyan] In all, 229,000 refugees from the neighboring republic—that's about 53,000 families—arrived in Armenia from March 1988 through early February of this year. In addition, about 100,000 Armenians have gone to other areas of the country. The last wave of refugees amounted to more than 6,000 people, and the flow is continuing. More than 6,000 Armenians have been deported to other regions.

After the latest pogroms and instances of vandalism, which began Jan. 13 in Baku, special Aeroflot flights began arriving at Zvartnots Airport, carrying physically abused and suffering people who had been deprived of everything and had lost relatives and loved ones. A republic headquarters was set up to coordinate the activities of all ministries and departments and all local Soviets where the receiving and relocating of refugees is concerned.

I would like to note the precise and organized work of the Ministries of Motor Transport and of Public Health. Representatives of the republic's Gtutyun Society have worked around the clock giving moral and material assistance to the refugees. The bulk of them have been lodged in boarding facilities, vacation accommodations and sanatoriums, as well as in the families of fellow Armenians, loved ones and acquaintances. Incidentally, those who wanted to join relatives in other regions of the country enjoyed the right to a free airline ticket.

On January 19, in view of the extreme situation, the republic Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on providing immediate assistance. A brief explanation of the resolution was recently published in the press.

[Grigoryan] What has been done so far?

[Azatyan] More than 5,000 former Sumgait residents have obtained housing in the Armenian SSR. A total of 18,000 refugee families have bought and sold or exchanged housing. More than 112,000 refugees have been relocated in the republic's rural areas. Some 110,000 people have been issued residency permits.

including 70,000 permanent ones. Every second able-bodied person is working either in production or agriculture.

Housing-construction cooperatives have been organized under the Abovyan, Razdan and Charentsavan City Soviets and the Bagramyan Rayon Soviet, including cooperatives for 6,300 refugee families that are temporarily living in Yerevan. A housing-construction cooperative has also been set up under the Ashtarak City Soviet for those temporarily residing in that rayon. A good example of an independent and concrete solution to the refugees' housing question is provided by the Armenian Gas Industry Association, whose employees have organized the Airenadarts co-op and are building an entire housing area for 5,000-6,000 people in Byuregavan settlement.

What has been accomplished, however, is just a small part of the immense work yet to be done.

[Grigoryan] The question of granting refugee status to Armenians deported from Azerbaijan is more urgent than ever before. That would make possible a quicker and better solution to their many problems, including the question of material compensation for the damage they've suffered. After all, while the Armenian SSR has paid Azerbaijani refugees a total of 67.3 million rubles, not a single Armenian family has yet received so much as a kopek from the neighboring republic.

[Azatyan] We see the granting of refugee status, with all the ensuing benefits, as one of the principal conditions for an early solution to the refugees' problems. However, this question is unfortunately beyond the power of the republic authorities. The Armenian government has put the question of this status to the Union authorities for their consideration.

It would certainly improve the likelihood of the refugees' getting compensated, at Azerbaijan's expense, for the material damage they've suffered, as provided for in the April 15, 1989, resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers. At the present time, a mechanism for resolving the question of compensation is being worked out.

[Grigoryan] The set of problems connected with the refugees can be briefly designated by four terms: housing, residence permits, work and language.

[Azatyan] That is absolutely correct. We feel that it's almost necessary to draw up and adopt a state Refugee Program that includes sections on housing, job placement and the meeting of people's social and everyday material needs.

The first section would provide, in view of the difficult housing problem that exists in the republic, that: first, housing construction cooperatives be set up (over and above the aforementioned ones) with the direct participation of the refugees themselves. That would simultaneously ease the problem of job placement, as well.

What's more, the question of making plots of ground available for individual construction has been solved in practice in all of the republic's rayons. The government has posed the question in clear terms: Every family expressing the desire to engage in individual construction must be provided with a plot of ground, a long-term loan of up to 20,000 rubles, and the necessary building materials.

A considerable percentage of the refugees are city-dwellers, and therefore their desire to settle, at all costs, in the capital or in the republic's other cities is completely understandable. Consequently, it has been decided that plots of ground are to be allocated for individual construction in the suburbs of Leninakan, Abovyan and Razdan, as well as in the vicinity of the rayon centers of Gabramyan, Talin and Aparan.

Today, there are about 4,000 empty homes in the republic's rural areas. As yet, these homes are not suitable for living, but the state committee intends, together with local Soviet executive committees, to propose to the republic government that they be renovated and restored by spring. We know that it will be very difficult for us to convince people of the need to become permanent residents in various areas of the republic. True, it will be difficult and unaccustomed, but that's the way it is. Residence permits for the capital city will be issued only to those who have traded for or acquired housing there and those who have close relatives in the city. Yerevan is not able to take everyone.

We feel that setting up housing construction combines jointly with foreign firms is one way of solving the refugees' housing problem; incidentally, we are conducting preliminary talks on that subject with France's Blue Cross. It is common knowledge that a refugee aid fund exists, and we would like to utilize the fund's receipts to set up combines and enterprises of that sort. In other words, we don't want to reduce the matter to simply handing out money.

Job placement is also a problem of considerable importance. As has already been said, almost 50

of the able-bodied refugees now have jobs. But in order to solve the problem definitively and make rational use of highly-skilled workers and specialists, we feel it's necessary to conduct, together with the State Committee on Labor and Social Questions, a sociological study to determine—in addition to other data—the refugees' occupational breakdown. Based on the results of such a study, proposals on the creation of additional jobs will be submitted to the Council of Ministers. We would also like to seek possibilities for siting production facilities and enterprise subsidiaries in the rural areas with highly concentrated refugee populations. They include quite a number of skilled specialists, and we must make proper use of the possibility of getting them established in those various areas, as a partial solution of chronic social problems and as a way of raising the cultural level in rural areas.

To achieve a final solution of the refugees' job-placement problem, it is also necessary to solve the question of residency permits. In that connection, we would like to propose that the refugees be granted residence permits in all cities and areas of the republic (except the city of Yerevan), regardless of the availability housing.

In order to solve the social and everyday problems in communities with highly concentrated refugee populations, the republic's government adopted an appropriate resolution on November 29, 1989. It provides for completing the installation of natural-gas and water systems, building roads and completing the installation of phone service in all areas in the period 1990 through 1995. I would like to point out that despite the fact that the Armenian Republic State Agro-Industrial Committee has received no additional allocations or funds for the performance of this work in 1990, the bulk of the work in question has already been included in the plan.

We also feel that the benefits being extended to refugees entering higher educational institutions and specialized secondary schools must be extended for the next two years.

[Grigoryan] The material aspect of the problem is extremely important, of course, but the nonmaterial, psychological aspect of rehabilitation must not be forgotten. It's necessary to do everything possible to make the refugees feel like full-fledged citizens of the Armenian SSR as soon as possible—to see to it that they don't become alienated from the local populace but, on the contrary, integrate into it in as painless a fashion as possible.

No doubt about it. Here, too, the language problem is uppermost. Therefore, a program for the study of the Armenian language must be devised through the joint efforts of the Ministry of Public Education, the State Television and Radio Committee, and the State Committee on Publishing, Printing and the Book Trade. In view of the stress that the refugees are under, plans call for a number of measures to restore people's nerves and normalize their psychological state. To this end, understandings have already been reached with the Ministry of Public Health, the Armenian Concert Association, and the Russian Drama Theater.

But of course, the best medicine for our unfortunate fellow countrymen has to be the way we treat them. Sometimes emotions overwhelm all else—after all, everyone's nerves are stretched to the limit. But the refugees simply need our kindness, our patience and all the help that we can possibly give them. As a matter of fact, I don't doubt that our people will show all these attributes in full measure. After all, these are our fellow Armenians who had no say in the fact that they landed here.

[Grigoryan] What kinds of problems is the committee itself running into in its work?

[Azatyan] The principal one is the lack of our own subordinate units. Many refugees are presently complaining of bureaucratism and indifference on the part of certain authorities. Without in any way justifying that state of affairs, I want to point out nonetheless that local executives have problems enough of their own and that the refugees require a great deal of attention. Therefore, we are posing the question of setting up departments of refugee affairs—albeit temporary ones—in the executive committees of local Soviets. This would ease the work of the committee and of the local bodies as well.

We feel the urgent need of a press organ of our own that would appear in both languages.

In conclusion, I would like to stress once again that the refugees are the problem of our entire nation, a problem that requires a pooling of efforts by all state, party and public organizations. Everything must be done to ensure that every refugee feel himself to be truly on his native soil, and among his own people—that he find a homeland at last.

Armenian Refugees, Officials Discuss Resettlement Problems

90US0640B Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No. 7
12-18 Feb 90 p 17

[Article by M. Vilensky: "A Silent Tragedy"]

[text] The appearance of Russian refugees from Baku has added a new and dramatic chapter to the chronicle of sorry events in the Transcaucasus. The new wave of refugees broke when the preceding ones had scarcely subsided and died down—before the suffering Armenians and Azerbaijanis, cast from their birthplaces by the pitiless hand of national fanatics, have had time to find a job and a new place to live.med

On New Year's eve, at a resort hotel outside Moscow, I met four families of Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan. I recorded on a dictaphone my conversation with one of them, the father of four. Just in case, I'll give him an invented first name and surname—say, Ashot Petrosov. He is 41 years old and a jack of all trades: a stone mason who is skilled in applying facing materials and a plasterer, but still able to work as an automotive mechanic and a driver. With him were his wife and two children—likeable, chubby little kids with lively and intelligent eyes: Armen and Misha, ages four and five.

But before transferring my talk with him from tape to paper, it is most important that the reader be forewarned: I'm convinced that an equally doleful tale could have been told to me by an Azerbaijani refugee from Armenia, and I would be sitting down at my typewriter with the very same heavy heart. But chance brought me together with Ashot Petrosov, and therefore I turn the floor over to him.

[Petrosov] February 1988 was the butchery in Sumgait, and then a certain calm set in, and we thought that it

would all blow over and that no such thing could happen in our town of Kirovabad. After the Sumgait events, Azerbaijanis from Armenia came to us in Kirovabad and proposed an exchange of apartments with Armenians from Azerbaijan, before it was too late. They foresaw the course that events would take, but to me their talk sounded stupid. What's more, I had waited 15 years for my apartment, had brought it up to snuff with my own hands, had made it into a little gem, and now all of a sudden I was to trade it? Why didn't I listen to them at the time? On the morning of Nov. 21 an alarmed neighbor—an Azerbaijani by nationality but a man with whom I was on very good terms—rushed in and said: "You've got to hide if you can. Things are looking very bad for Armenians." I lived on the fourth floor. I went downstairs and looked out the entrance and saw that it was already impossible to get out of the building. It was surrounded, and informers with lists of addresses were showing the crowd where the Armenians lived. Luckily for me, an empty taxi happened by at just that moment. I had worked for 15 years as a taxi driver (there's just one taxi fleet for the whole city), and we all know each other. Some 90 per cent of the drivers are Azerbaijanis, and an Azerbaijani driver helped me to escape. He drove us to the Armenian church. Military personnel protected us there. They positioned tanks and armored personnel carriers around the building. There were people in the church who had been beaten; all were lying on the floor.

[Vilensky] Did you have time to take some things?

[Petrosov] Nothing at all. We just had time to grab our sleepy children, nothing more.

[Vilensky] And what were the pogromists shouting? What kinds of accusations were they making?

[Petrosov] There was a lot of wild shouting. You couldn't make out what they were saying.

[Vilensky] What kind of crowd was it, young hooligans?

[Petrosov] No, there were older people in the crowd too—even police officers.

[Vilensky] In uniform?

[Petrosov] Yes, in uniform.

[Vilensky] But I still don't understand: What was it for? What were the pogromists accusing you of?

[Petrosov] They were all spoiling for a fight, and what we were guilty of was our Armenian nationality. That was our sole guilt.

[Vilensky] What happened then?

[Petrosov] Then we took refuge in a military base—a closed area where military personnel live. We were given housing there. On Nov. 26, my Azerbaijani neighbor paid a visit and said: "At six in the evening yesterday, your apartment was bombed." Then an investigative team arrived from the USSR Procurator's Office. I asked

for their help and told them what was up. There were four of them, and they took me in their automobile and we went round to the apartment. The front door had disappeared, torn off its hinges and thrown somewhere, and my neighbor had somehow boarded over the opening. The investigators asked my neighbor for a hatchet, knocked down the boards, and we entered. They had a camera with a flash attachment. It was impossible to get through the rooms—there was broken furniture everywhere, and the chiffoniers were all broken open and empty. All the bedding was gone, not a single sheet left—nothing. I could see that the looters and ragpickers had been through after the pogromists, had taken everything of value and thrown the rest out the window into the courtyard and burned it. We had had a bag full of old things, and I had thought that I could find it and fix and mend some things, but the bag had also disappeared. I had buried my mother not long before. Incidentally, 70 Azerbaijanis—our friends—had paid their last respects. There had been photographs showing her being carried out and buried. But when I looked, there were scraps of the photos scattered around the floor. All the dishware was broken. The investigators—Sidorov, Andronov and Izgozhev, all from Moscow—photographed and took notes on everything. Then came the appraisers, who estimated the damage at 8,340 rubles. I agreed.

[Vilensky] Did you get the money?

[Petrosov] No, and I haven't received a kopek to this day, although it's been more than a year. Then things got even worse. The investigative group and the military personnel told us: "Go wherever you choose, but you can't stay here." Before leaving, I went with the wife to the Soviet executive committee to see about compensation for the damage, but they just laughed: "Listen here," they said, "you need to run and here you are chasing after money." We left for Stavropol—my wife, the four kids and I. These two and our daughters, ages eight and seven years.

[Vilensky] But where are your daughters?

[Petrosov] In Vinnitsa, with an aunt of my wife's. At present they're both in the first grade—they've lost a year.

[Vilensky] And so you left for Stavropol.

[Petrosov] I was told that I could find work at a state farm there. But at the farm in question they told me: "We're categorically forbidden from hiring refugees from Armenia and Azerbaijan."

[Vilensky] Why is that?

[Petrosov] I don't know, they had received some sort of verbal order. They sympathized with us, but they weren't able to help in any way. But the work is there—they need farmhands. When I had given up all hope in Stavropol I came to Moscow so that Baku could be forced by Moscow to pay compensation for the damage and give me those 8,000 rubles. In Moscow we spent the night at

the Kiev Railroad Station. The next day, I was told at the Armenian permanent office: "We'll put you in a vacation hotel for a month—temporarily—and then we'll see what happens. And the permanent office bought my sons each a coat, boots and underwear. And they gave us 100 rubles. They tried to move us out of here after 24 days. But Vera Shagina, a journalist, happened to be staying at the hotel. She appealed to all the guests, and people collected money for us, drove home and brought us back clothing—everything you see me wearing they brought me. Then they collected the money—it worked out to 30 rubles per family. Shagina was able to arrange things so we could stay here until the New Year. And now there's a rumor going around that we'll be asked to leave soon.

[Vilensky] And go where?

[Petrosov] I don't know. We'll go back to the railroad station bench. What are we supposed to do? I was advised to apply to the USSR Procurator's Office. I went there, and Assistant Procurator-General Utkin talked with me and advised me to draw up a request for payment of the compensation. The request went to Baku with a notation by the Procurator's Office: "Sent to you for verification and action," and we got a reply from Azerbaijan stating, "Lists of those claiming compensation for damages have been sent to the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers for consideration." After that we wrote to the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers. They have yet to answer. And there's the tragic coincidence of the earthquake. We would have been settled in Armenia, of course, but at this point their own people are out on the street. Please come and help restore Spitak and Leninakan, they say, but you'll live with your family in a tent. Spending the winter in a tent—how is that possible? But I'm ready to take any job, even a janitor's. If they offer me a job as a janitor I'll take it. I'll work as a common laborer.

[Vilensky] Do you have any source of income?

[Petrosov] None whatsoever.

[Vilensky] Haven't any of your people landed jobs?

[Petrosov] Some of the single people have found work and are living wherever they've landed. I've been to the Moscow Subway Construction Association and the Likhachev Automotive Plant. At the subway association I even refaced a section of wall to demonstrate my skills. They said, "Yeah, you'll do—we'll hire you." But as soon as they learned that I was a refugee with a wife and children they said no, they couldn't do it. When I went to the Likhachev Plant they told me, "Yes, we need people." A woman in the personnel department checked my permanent work record, passport and military-service card and said, "That's fine, fill out an application." I was so happy it set my head to spinning. But just then the deputy director came in. "Did you check his documents?" he asked. "Yes," she answered. He took the passport, opened it at the back and said to the woman: "What are you thinking about? Don't you know that we don't take people with families, much less those

with residence permits from other cities? No," he said. "I'm sorry, but we can't do it." Everything came to a screeching halt.

[Vilensky] Does the Armenian permanent office help with your job search?

[Petrosov] Well, here's the reference they gave me: "This is to attest that citizen Ashot Martirosovich Petrosov has been in Moscow since September 1989 as a result of the deterioration in relations among nationalities in the city of Kirovabad. This reference is to be presented where the possibility of temporary employment exists." The trouble is that no such possibility ever arises. After speaking with other refugees, I came to the unhappy conclusion that the pogromist act of the drama (the act that's known to the world) has been quietly followed by a second, "silent" one—the refugee act. What are the authorities doing to arrange a normal human life for those unfortunate people who've been left without a roof over their heads—jobless and without property? In search of an answer to that question I visited the USSR State Committee on Labor and Social Questions, where I spoke with Pyotr Sergeyevich Rudev, head of the Migration and Resettlement Administration.

"This is the second year that we've been dealing with the refugees. And by 'we' I don't just mean the State Committee on Labor and Social Questions. I mean above all the government commission—and there have already been several such commissions, headed by vice-chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers. At present, the people in charge of those questions are Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, first vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Vitaliy Husseinovich Doguzhiyev, vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. So then," Pyotr Sergeyevich continued, "according to certain sources, a total of 250,000 Armenians [data as of the end of 1989—M.V.] have left Azerbaijan. The bulk of them have relocated to Armenia, but 55,000 have left for destinations outside both republics. About 7,000 are in Moscow. The rest have landed in many different regions of the Russian Republic, where they've been given all possible assistance. The Russian Republic Council of Ministers has instructed oblast and krai Soviet executive committees in 19 areas of the European RSFSR—mostly in southern and central Russia—to lend them assistance in obtaining housing and work in the new locations. In Rostovskaya oblast, which has an old Armenian community, an entire area has been set aside for the settlement of refugees. There have been cases of houses being built in a day there. And there've been no problems—no letters of complaint, nothing. All those who wanted to get a fresh start that way have settled in.

[Vilensky] So a refugee can arrive in Stavropol, for example, go to the krai Soviet executive committee and get help with housing and employment?

[Rudev] Yes. In Stavropol Krai, tens of thousands of people have obtained housing or built houses for themselves. That, in any case, is how it was until recently. I must admit, the reservation about "until recently" put me somewhat on my guard, but I didn't want to interrupt the monologue by a knowledgeable person.

[Rudev] A mechanism has been worked out for compensating the refugees for their lost property and wrecked housing. A Soviet executive committee that is prepared to allow refugees to buy housing on its territory must apply to the Interpublic Commission on Questions of Compensation for Material Damage Done to Persons of Armenian and Azerbaijani Nationality Who Have Been Forced to Leave Their Places of Permanent Residency—that's its full title. The Azerbaijani section of the commission is headed by First Vice-Chairman of the Azerbaijan Republic Council of Ministers Rasi-Zade, who is in charge of those matters. Appropriate compensation must be transferred to the rayon Soviet, settlement Soviet, etc., making application to him. In other words, the refugee himself doesn't get the compensation in the form of cash in the hand. The financial operation of compensation for the damages is transacted between governmental agencies of the Soviet accepting the refugee and the Soviet at the place that he left.

Now, as concerns the Armenian refugees in Moscow. There is reason to believe that they came here for a purpose—they wanted to settle only in Moscow or Moskovskaya Oblast. However, the governmental commission has decided that, in view of the critical housing situation, refugees are not to be settled in Moscow, Moskovskaya Oblast and Leningrad. The people who do not know that—people like Ashot Petrosov—need to be properly informed on that score so they won't waste time and money in Moscow. The refugees who came to Moscow were offered jobs in urban areas of the country's European section by 28 different ministries and departments, but they turned them all down. All the Armenian refugee families in Moscow have been "put through" the commission several times and offered a number of variants, but only 10 families have agreed to accept the jobs and locations offered. As a result, it was decided to stop reviewing claims from citizens who had turned down the variants proposed to them or were avoiding making a decision. But that does not mean that no assistance of any kind has been given to those who have landed in Moscow. Azerbaijan allocated 600,000 rubles as a three-month financial aid benefit for refugees who had arrived in Moscow. On my signature, three Moscow banks have been paying the sum of 300 rubles to each able-bodied family member of working age. (Strange, I thought, Ashot spoke of receiving a one-time financial aid payment of 100 rubles.)

[Vilensky] But all the same, Pyotr Sergeyevich, where are refugees arriving in Moscow—both Armenian and Azerbaijani—to turn at present?

[Rudev] To the Russian Republic Job Placement Center at 3 Perviy Basmanniy Lane in Moscow.

To complete the picture, I went to the Armenian Republic's permanent office in Moscow to gether information. I was received by Deputy Permanent Representative R.S. Burnazyan. An employee of the permanent office named Stella—herself a refugee from Baku—took part in the conversation.

According to the permanent office's estimates, there are 10,000 Armenian refugees in Moscow. They besiege the permanent office in hopes of getting some kind of life-saving advice or valuable information. The permanent office does everything it can, but it is unable to do much. Mostly, it consoles and calms people.

Some people arrive at the permanent office who have forced their way into a hotel and are living there free of charge.

"They say we'll soon be thrown out in the cold. Is that true?"

"I hope not," Burnazyan answers them.

"But how much longer will they let us stay?"

"You want me to give you a 10-year guarantee? No, I can't give you a guarantee of that sort."

I ask: "But what do you reply, Remir Sarkisovich, to a homeless and unemployed refugee who asks you outright, 'Where am I to go?'"

"I respond, 'to Armenia.' They are receiving and resettling everyone there, but they're resettling them in rural areas. That's not appropriate for a city person, however—he doesn't know how to cultivate the land. One can understand his feelings, too."

"Stavropol, Krasnodarskiy Krai and Rostovskaya Oblast have stopped accepting refugees," Stella says sadly. So that's what Rudev's reservation about "having accepted them until recently" meant! And the reasons are not hard to guess—the oversaturation of those areas with refugees, since the southerners want to relocate as close as possible to their relatives and their Transcaucasian areas.

Unfortunately, there's still a long, long way to go before the final period is placed after the refugees' tragic odyssey. The mechanism for resettlement and job placement is not as well adjusted as the employees of the State Committee on Labor and Social Questions think. Some things have not been entirely thought through, and some have been proclaimed to be in finished form at a point that is patently too early in the game.

And now, in January as well, there have been wild excesses and new waves of refugees. The ferryboats have transported the last of the Armenian optimists from Baku to Krasnovodsk.

**Armenian People's Deputy Grigoryan Views
NKAO Issues, Supreme Soviet Session**

90US0695A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
25 Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with Artsvin Grigoryan, USSR People's Deputy from Armenia, by KOMMUNIST correspondent F. Nakhshkaryan: "To Hear a Word of Truth"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "Any solution achieved by means of the threat of force will be temporary, while one achieved by means of reason will be lasting," says USSR People's Deputy Artsvin Grigoryan in an interview given to KOMMUNIST correspondent F. Nakhshkaryan.

[Nakhshkaryan] With what hopes did you go to the current USSR Supreme Soviet session?

[Grigoryan] Our entire corps of deputies went to Moscow hoping for an opportunity not only to speak a word of truth to the country's people's deputies, but also to hear in response just such a word of truth—about the "crisis-like development of events in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]." This is how the NKAO problem was phrased in the statement prepared in the Commission on Ethnic Policies and Interethnic Relations of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities "On the Events Surrounding Nagorny Karabakh and the Measures Undertaken To Normalize the Situation in This Region in the Years 1988-1990."

This statement was distributed to the deputies prior to the closed sitting and, for the uninformed ones, shed light, scant to be sure, but light all the same, on the state of affairs. In any case, when Azerbaijan's deputies began to demand a local discussion and condemnation of the introduction of troops into Baku on 19 and 20 January, an overwhelming number of deputies did not agree to such a formulation of the matter. It was decided that the problem as a whole would be considered.

For us, this was particularly important, since Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev promised that, when we got together to discuss the conflicts between Azerbaijan and Armenia, everyone would be given an opportunity to have a full say. We had hoped to expose the essence of the numerous falsifications of the press and television: we have an abundance of examples.

[Nakhshkaryan] Who reported on the crux of the problem?

[Grigoryan] There was no report, although we expected one. In conformity with the congress' decision, the Soviet of Nationalities was supposed to give a report, but, just like the last time, in November, the report did not take place. It must be assumed that it was supposed to be replaced by the statement distributed to us, which I have already mentioned.

[Nakhshkaryan] Who spoke first on the problem?

[Grigoryan] A. Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee. He fittingly presented the traditional Azerbaijan idea, according to which, everything which has occurred in Azerbaijan over the course of the last 2 years—the murders, assaults and pogroms and even the violation of the state border—have as their source the secession of the NKAO from Azerbaijan. He even asked the question: from where did the people get the weapons?

A. Mutalibov declared that the use of the army to solve internal problems is unlawful and this is why he condemns this "inhumane" act.

I was not surprised by Mutalibov's hypotheses. He considers the medieval vandalism and barbarism in Baku against the Armenians with particular cruelty to be Azerbaijan's internal affair. I was not surprised by the speeches of all the Azerbaijan deputies: they tried with all their strength to turn everything top-side down, since at the top was the USSR Government, which had made the decision regarding the introduction of the troops.

Azerbaijan Deputies A. Melekov, R. Ibragimbekov, T. Ismailov and others spoke about this.

On 22 January, A. Mutalibov began his own appeal to the populace with the words: "Great misfortune has come to our land. People are dying..." Yes, the death of even one innocent person can not be justified. Regardless of ethnic group, this is an enormous tragedy.

But why did the republic's leadership not make similar declarations either after Sumgait or after Kirovabad or after the bestial murders and barbarous pogroms during the new genocide which began in Baku and other regions of Azerbaijan on 13 January.

Moreover—no measures of any kind were taken. And what is more, in a speech at the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and at the current Supreme Soviet session, the new leader of the republic's party organization accused (in the spirit of the policies of the leaders of the NFA [the Azerbaijan People's Front]) the Armenian population of Karabakh of all kinds of transgressions, in particular, of being inclined toward the idea of the self-determination of nations, which has emerged "recently" (this is how he expressed himself).

I believe no comment is necessary. Very few possess the courage of V. Efendiyev, a medical doctor, who published in PRAVDA an article entitled "Aliyevism or a Lament on a 'Sweet Time'."

I will add to what has been said about A. Mutalibov's speech only that he concluded it again with the slogan which is traditional for the NFA and the republic's corps of deputies: "More Catastrophe! More Death!"

How can one not recall here when, in the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, there was discussion of the matter of the imposition of a state of emergency in Baku, all the members in the country of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet voted "aye," with the exception

of E. Kafarava, the chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, who declared that she could not vote for such a decision...

[Nakhshkaryan] How did our deputies express themselves?

[Grigoryan] S. Arutyunyan, the first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee spoke very persuasively and very fittingly. His speech contained historical, legal and constitutional grounds for the just demands of the NKAO's Armenians. The audience had already attentively grasped the problem of the refugees which the republic is accepting under the conditions of the devastation caused by the earthquake and the blockade of the railways and highways on the part of Azerbaijan. A special place in his speech was given to "Sumgait." His idea that the uncondemned "Sumgait" became the inspirer of new "Sumgaits," for the inevitability of punishment had been placed in doubt, was received by the country's deputies attentively and understandingly.

It is possible that some role was played in this understanding by the fact that, in the statement prepared by the Soviet of Nationalities, it was stated: "Despite the efforts undertaken by the center, the development of the events in the NKAO and around it proceeded in the direction of aggravation of the conflict. A most negative role in this was played by the mass disorders provoked on 27 and 28 February, 1988, under the nationalist slogans, the outrages against the Armenian populace in Sumgait, the acts of violence, the pogroms of apartments and the murders of persons of Armenian nationality, which did not receive a timely political assessment. This aggravated to an extreme the mutual relations between the Armenian and Azerbaijan populations."

I believe that, today, our society is ready to acknowledge honestly: the uncondemned and unpunished "Sumgait" purposefully converted the essentially democratic problem, recognized by international law, of the expression of will and the self-determination of Nagorny Karabakh's Armenians, who believe in perestroika, into a sphere of undying interethnic conflicts, which became more embittered with each passing day and which pursued only the goal of expelling the Armenians from the republic.

Today, we are exonerating individual people who have suffered innocently. Why, then, do we not want to exonerate whole peoples, be they in Nagorny Karabakh or in some other place in the country? The speeches of all the deputies from Armenia and the NKAO, V. Ambartsumyan, Z. Balayan, V. Gabrielyan and M. Minasbekyan, intersected at this idea.

I remember in particular the question raised by M. Minasbekyan: we are supporting the Germans in their striving for the unity of their people, so why do we not want to support the Armenians in the same striving. Armenians who, moreover, are not thinking about seceding from the structure of the federation and, in fact, have proven their loyalty to it?

[Nakhshkaryan] Was a third view expressed?

[Grigoryan] Yes, and actively. People spoke, and very unambiguously, whose opinion was very important for the audience to hear: Primakov, Bakatin, Kryuchkov, Yazov...

[Nakhshkaryan] Please tell me about the essence of their speeches.

[Grigoryan] Ye. Primakov condemned the villainous anti-Armenian pogroms in Baku. However, he continues to consider as unconstitutional the decision of our session on annexing the NKAO to Armenia. He acknowledged that military structures have been established in the NFA and that the expulsion of Armenians from the NKAO has been going on all this time. Quite convincing was his declaration that the mass violation of the border pursued the goal of establishing a deep rear area under the conditions of the NFA's bandit formations which are preparing for military operations.

Primakov did not offer a plan for a political and constitutional solution of the problem and limited himself to a proposal to prosecute all the guilty parties, to disarm the fighters and to disband the informal organizations.

USSR Minister of Internal Affairs V. Bakatin placed the responsibility for the events in Baku on the government of Azerbaijan, however, he is seeking the original cause of the tension in the region in the NKAO. He noted the highly organized nature of the pogroms which occurred according to previously prepared addresses and lists of Armenians. He acknowledged the fact that the NFA set for itself the goal of overthrowing Soviet power in the republic and expressed surprise that the Soviet bodies which registered the NFA have not changed their decision up till now.

I agree with many of the positions of Comrade Bakatin's speech, but it is absolutely impossible to agree with the fact that he accused the leadership of Armenia of sanctioning the establishment of armed detachments. On the contrary, work is being carried out in Armenia to convince the people of the necessity of getting rid of the tension and, as a result, weapons are being surrendered. Again, an ill-fated attempt at balancing out the guilt and the responsibility! Indeed, self-defense brigades and people's home guard brigades were established in Armenia and Comrade Kryuchkov acknowledged the existence of them as normal and necessary under the conditions which were created in Tajikistan.

Among the immediate measures, V. Bakatin suggested to the republics that they immediately sit down at the table for talks; that work begin on a union agreement about a federation where the rights of union republics' minority populations would be guaranteed; and that the law be strengthened in order to ensure the proper functioning of the MVD.

In KGB Chairman V. Kryuchkov's speech, I paid special attention to the fact cited by him: more than 13,000

apartments in Baku, out of which Armenians and Russians were thrown, are being occupied by pogrom participants.

USSR Minister of Defense D. Yazov gave a fitting rebuke to everyone who wanted to place the responsibility for the January events in Baku on the center and the army. He noted: weapons had been delivered in advance into the republic across the border; and the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet session occurred in fact under pressure from an armed crowd. The NFA had at its disposal the communication facilities of the Caspian Sea Steamship Line, the Azerbaijan MVD and the taxi fleet, which maintained active communication between the various armed formations.

D. Yazov completely rejected the accusation that the troops were introduced into the city without preliminary notification of the populace: it is precisely the notification which permitted the NFA to organize a blockade of the roads, airports and even the military base; at the same time, the local authorities did not inform the people about the introduction of the troops.

The USSR Minister of Defense suggested that there be without delay a determination of the status which Nagornyy Karabakh should have.

I want to make a reservation: I can not encompass all the matters touched upon at the sitting. I would note, however, that Yazov's speech was very surprising. It is obvious that Azerbaijan's people's deputies could not stand this. Even before he finished his own speech, they accused him of nationalism and left the hall, shouting out threats.

[Nakhshkaryan] You are saying that the problem of the NKAO and "surrounding it" evoked a response in the audience. However, did either interested parties or officials speak?

[Grigoryan] No. Many other deputies also went up to the rostrum. Very constructive, sincere and interested in uncovering the truth was the speech by Colonel N. Petrushenko. He formulated the matter clearly: to whom was it advantageous to break up the "Sumgait" matter and why, up till now, has it been impossible to assemble it into a single matter, despite the numerous proper demands that the guilty parties be punished?

Also very reasonable was another question raised by Petrushenko: why did the Azerbaijan leadership regard so tolerantly the secession of the Nakhichevan ASSR from the republic and the country and so furiously the aspiration of the NKAO's Armenians to be reunited with Armenia? He did not agree that the gallows set up in the square in Baku were symbolic.

N. Petrushenko also raised other questions which were no less interesting: so much has been said about Aliyev... but why is no official assessment of his activities being given? And there is more. Why, when Soviet power fell

in many rayons of Azerbaijan, did the republic's government not impose a state of emergency in these rayons?

N. Petrushenko's opinion is: the NKAO is a pawn in Azerbaijan's political games; it is necessary to make the NKAO subordinate to the center for 5 years and then review the matter again.

A similar proposal was heard in the speeches of other deputies, in particular, in that of a deputy from Uzbekistan, A. Mukhtarov.

Deputy V. Lukin noted that the people's deputies from Azerbaijan had turned out to be the tail being wagged by the People's Front, while the pogroms in Baku occurred with the connivance of the government. He believes that the refugees from Armenia had been specially gathered together in Baku in order to destabilize and stir up the situation.

An assessment, which was correct on the whole, of the events in the Transcaucasus was put forth by a deputy from Tajikistan, B. Rakhimov, Deputy A. Korshunov and others.

[Nakhshkaryan] How did events at the session unfold after the departure of Azerbaijan's deputies?

[Grigoryan] Despite the fact that it was proposed that a full and thorough discussion be held at the session, after the departure of Azerbaijan's deputies, the debate was, in fact, discontinued and what had been said was summed up by M.S. Gorbachev.

Tasks were set up: the safety of the Soviet people must be ensured, we and our laws must operate more specifically, the fighters must be disarmed and the problem of the refugees must be solved.

He again noted that, in interethnic relations, including in the NKAO problem as well, a lot has been associated with social and economic matters and that the violation of the constitutional norms, including the integrity of the borders, is unacceptable.

A resolution, as is often the practice in sessions and congresses, on our extremely acute matter was thus also not adopted; the draft of the resolution was not ready for discussion.

[Nakhshkaryan] With what thoughts did you leave the Supreme Soviet conference hall on this day?

[Grigoryan] Gamid Kherishchi, one of the ideologists of the Azerbaijan People's Front and an associate of the Literature Institute of the republic's Academy of Sciences, in an interview for the Lithuanian newspaper ATGIMIMA, talked frankly about the tactics and strategy of everything which is currently happening in the Azerbaijan SSR: "Yes, there are in our struggle elements of a jihad (which is defined as a war for the faith, which is prescribed by the Koran); to gather together the whole world, to swear that we will stand till the end and that, if we lose, then it would be better for us

to die." And further: "But if we define the problem and put it on a global level as a conflict between Christianity and Islam, what then?" says this "intellectual" who is already threatening the entire country and who is openly preaching not only Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism, but also anti-Christian, anti-Russian, anti-Armenian and, finally, anti-human concepts. And this threat, as we know, was turned into actual reality in January of 1990.

Typical in this sense was the speech at the session by Deputy T. Ismailov. He raised a lot of questions, but for some reason, he was silent about the genocide of Armenians, which took place in Baku prior to the introduction of the troops, which saved thousands of lives. Similar in nature was the speech by R. Ibragimbekov also. Deputy R. Mamedov even went so far as to read a raykom resolution condemning Azerbaijanis and Armenians (!) for organizing in Baku pogroms and murders of Armenians. That is right. You can draw your own conclusion.

M.S. Gorbachev, in a report at the February (1990) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, stated: "Unfortunately, even many representatives of the intelligentsia of Azerbaijan and Armenia could not correctly assess the situation, look into the genuine causes of what has occurred and exert positive influence on the course of the events. Unfortunately, the same can also be said about the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, for, as was justly noted in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on 7 February, 1990, "It was not the army which arrived late in Azerbaijan, rather, it was the politicians."

The entire world is a witness to the decisive actions of our country's leaders in the international arena, which are aimed at correcting the errors of the past and the inclusion of the USSR in the system of worldwide interrelationships. Why, then, in domestic policy, do precisely those survival mechanisms, which have brought us to the present-day critical state, display particular vitality?

It is time to acknowledge that we can not champion the idea of a common European household, if we do not put our own household in order! And we are obligated to take decisive steps in this direction: as practice has shown, you can build neither a socialist nor a normal state from nothing but beautiful words and slogans.

At the various levels of political thought and in the practice of social being, we are having to contend ever more frequently with the replacement of the democratization of our society by its "liberalization." Not to mention the awakening and transition to active operations of all the possible forms of chauvinism, nationalism, zionism, extremism, anarchism and other "isms." To our recurrent regret, the number of illustrations is great. But we persistently place them under the formulas, convenient and, it seems, inoffensive for some politicians, of "hooligan acts because of strawberries" and "murders from hooligan motives," forgetting or not wishing to remember the primacy of

morality not only in politics, but also in all the affairs of a civilized society. Indeed, there have always been quite a few hooligans in the country, but they have never previously had such an active influence on politics and did not set up blockades of whole republics and autonomous oblasts.

It is necessary to acknowledge frankly: if the Supreme Soviet resolution of 28 November remains in force, not a single point of which has worked, conditions will thereby be created for a new genocide of Armenians—right on the territory of the NKAO. The lives of the Armenian people of the NKAO have been bet, while we are required to return to the initial position of the problem which led to such a tragedy. I hope that the Supreme Soviet will not further indulge the masters of the policy of the "fait accompli" and yield to the threat of force.

Russian Intelligentsia's Lack of Support for Armenian NKAO Position

90US0639A Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian
20 Feb 90 p 2

[Article by G. Ter-Gabrielyan: "In Search of Things Lost"]

[Text] **Unity and the Silent Ones.**—The year 1988 shook the bases of our existence. And early 1990 showed that no return to the old, measured life is to be expected.

In all the various, and even mutually exclusive, plans for overcoming the nationalities crisis, there is only one generally accepted point. In the yet-to-be elaborated program of national salvation, that point is the first, and as yet the only unanimously accepted one. It has been put forward at rallies and at official gatherings, at the constituent congress of the ANM (Armenian National Movement) and at sessions of the republic Supreme Soviet. And that point is the unity of the entire people on the basis of consciously realized common interests—the consolidation of all the nation's forces in one fell swoop, in the name of survival.

Unity would not be so difficult to achieve if it were just a question of the physical aspect of consolidation—of restoring all the republic's many ties with Karabakh and with the internal and external diaspora, ties broken as a result of the centuries-long nonexistence of an Armenian state, of the policy of genocide against Armenians, and of Stalinism.

A "horizontal" unification of this kind is not possible without a "vertical" one, without overcoming the spiritual dissension that has arisen as a result of the people's loss of faith in its tomorrow, in a more or less secure future, and because of people's desire to grab a piece of that security for themselves without waiting—to lock in some material well-being at their neighbor's expense.

The Karabakh movement constituted a powerful counterweight to the spiritual dissension. However, after the

earthquake, after the arrest of the Karabakh Committee members, and after the dissolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Soviet and party committee, there began a new period of disarray and dissension. This was followed by a period of calm of sorts, and it began to seem to us that we were already gradually becoming accustomed (for that is how human beings are) to the situation—an explosive situation, but one that was not yet exploding. Then came the explosion. The outburst could not be averted. And today, unity is the sole guarantee of our success.

But unity is an overly abstract concept. It can be interpreted in various ways. In calling for unity, some people would like to whitewash the embezzlers of public funds, the bribe-takers and the dull-witted and foolish silent ones who were secretive about their positions even during the years that have left us with bad memories and who are clinging to those positions with a steely grip today, for they have nothing to lose but their desk chairs—dignity and the people's respect are something they've never had.

If those at the Center show us no regard—if they failed to condemn the events in Sumgait, failed even to express condolences over those events and blew the investigation of them; if the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs publishes a statement on our behalf without even troubling to inform us of it; if the USSR Supreme Soviet adopts a resolution on Karabakh in the absence of our Deputies, including our Karabakh Deputies, etc.—then let us be honest with ourselves: Neither the materials published in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* nor the *Vremya* TV programs are to blame for that. They are not the ones who shame us in the eyes of "the entire Soviet people" and convince the Center that it needn't stand on ceremony where we are concerned; that is a role played primarily by our own sharp operators from the unofficial press who contrive to warm their hands over the people's misfortune.

How can there be a call for justice from a "representative" of the people who takes bribes from refugees and even from people injured in the earthquake—who sends abroad his children instead of the injured and then participates personally in the commission named to investigate this inhuman business? We complain about how rare it is for people to show a state perspective in their thinking. But try to imagine what kind of people these children will grow up to be, what kind of state perspective they (our future!) will show if today they're told: "If you're asked, say that you're an orphan too." Meanwhile, the philistine view still prevails (and is expressed not by just anyone but by Charles Aznavour, for example): As long as the aid isn't stolen in Moscow, as long as it makes it to Yerevan, then once there, even if it is stolen, at least it's by one of our own and for our own people, for our own Armenian children, and what's more, it will go toward our nation's well-being.

It is time we realized that, without overcoming corruption, we will not be able to reunite, revive and develop

But it cannot be overcome with appeals. Base calculations of whatever sort must simply be left outside the popular national movement, as must the mind-set of "making it big," be it in money, fame or power—a mind-set acquired over many long years, and one that is driving the nation into the abyss. Only in the absence of petty political passions (who will get what post) will it be possible to attain the goals of the national struggle.

And we must hurry, for the impending danger is great. Grant Matevosyan was profoundly right when he wrote, back in 1987: Though it seems awkward to compare misfortunes ("But I've suffered even worse"), we must nevertheless overcome our shame and state publicly that what to a different, larger nation, one that has not experienced genocide, would merely be a strong shock on a long journey, to us could spell doom. That is in the larger context. But in more specific terms, there could have been (and should have been!) concern earlier—many years ago—about strengthening the republic's borders, about the railroad, and about Megri and Goris. I'm not even talking about the fact (and this sounds like utter idealism) that someone at some point might, even at the cost of his job, have prevented at least that part of the railroad that runs through our territory from being controlled by others. A great deal could and should have been sacrificed to keep Movses, Yervand and the others—the best of our younger generation's follows—from having to die today. Unfortunately, the nomenklatura was never capable of heroism, because that is how it was conceived: alienated from, and set over against, the people so that its interests and those of the people could never coincide. And only an emergency situation landed us in conditions in which a union of the two came closer to reality: Cooperation was instituted between the police and the people's irregulars and patrols; the unofficial organizations united with the people's front, and a single Emergency Situation Council and Staff were founded. Truly, our people is accustomed to closing ranks when death threatens and is absolutely unaccustomed to acting in unison when the fatal clutches loosen ever so slightly.

How We Arrived at a Life of This Kind.—The roots of the republic's present condition must be sought in the juncture at which the Russian Revolution became intertwined with our people's thousand-year history.

The degree of enthusiasm that seized our people when the Armenian Republic was proclaimed in 1918 was matched by the degree of disenchantment that struck that very same people, which had experienced genocide shortly before, when the Red terror, the Stalinist dictatorship and the era of repressions dawned. The totalitarian system forced people to live like wild animals and treat one another like Janissaries. Except for the war of 1941-45, we didn't see ourselves as living on a front line, we didn't see an enemy—a foreigner or a person of a different faith—wanting to assert himself at our expense and at the expense of our life. And nonetheless, people killed each other, while proclaiming themselves brothers the whole while. We have learned from our own experience the full bitterness of the old proverb: "God save us

from our friends; we'll manage to deal with our enemies ourselves." The enemy and traitor lived next-door; you met him at work, made friends with him—he could be a member of your family. And then you yourself were taken away as an "enemy of the people" and a traitor, and your wife renounced you to ensure her safety and that of her children. The constant threat to people's peaceful labor corrupted them and deprived them of the ability to think in categories of the state and nation. As a result of this policy, the Armenian people developed an even greater antipathy toward a state system based on setting the interests of humankind over against those of the system—on the dehumanization of the institutions that wield power. This antipathy was strengthened by the fact that people were unaccustomed to the collectivist discipline, with its leveling effect on individuality, and to the corresponding type of thinking with reference to the state. The stagnation set in soon after the Stalin era. Little Armenia's resources were exploited mercilessly; independent and far-sighted statesmen—if perchance any could still be found after the period of iron selection—were quickly eliminated, and the prevailing mood in Armenia was a feeling that stagnation was our lot forever, and that the measure of a person's well-being was his ability to act and think like a crook. Once the pressures eased, the Armenian people, which had worked long and hard to unlearn their sense of being masters of their republic, first saw themselves as masters of their families and attempted to build themselves homes and provide for their children. But that was what is called "limited thinking." One couldn't get moving in isolation and live by the law of the jungle. During the years of stagnation, the ugliest impression of all was made by our intelligentsia, which directed its principal efforts toward persecuting its most talented sons and daughters. I don't know whether that can be explained in terms of a national character that prefers individual self-realization through legal means, or by the fact that the past 70 years of our history have been so poor in major individual deeds that people in the humanities haven't even perceived them as an object worthy of analysis, but the fact remains that under the Soviet regime the republic's humanistic thought has developed in a purely opportunistic fashion. Take, for example, the area of repressions, the study of which has long since been approved by our lopsided glasnost. Gurgen Maari, Suren Kazaryan, Vagram Alazan and several other names come to mind. Don't we come up a bit short on memoirs? On the basis of existing eye-witness accounts, one could conclude that our people really didn't suffer all that badly from the repressions. Solzhenitsyn writes about the deportation of the Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, Kalmyks, Chechens and, finally, Balts—but not a word about the Armenians. Because none of us took the trouble, at the time, to gather up and send him materials on the events of 1937-48 in our republic. It has long been possible to publish a lot of what was written "for the desk drawer." But have our present-day writers found a great deal in those drawers? Disenchanted and with their faith shattered, they apparently believed seriously that the stagnation would go on forever; they found it easy to see

themselves as "pinnacles of the human spirit" when they saw an endless morass on all sides, and as a result, the policy changes at the Center took them by surprise.

The residents of Karabakh were "luckier" in that regard: For 70 years now the death grip has only been tightening. Perhaps that is why their unity of spirit amazes the world and elicits envy from us, their brothers.

If you're not the one getting screwed, keep quiet—such is the cornerstone of the camp inmates' code of behavior, a principle that our people has assimilated over decades of concentration-camp existence. The people of Karabakh forced us to bestir ourselves, to violate that inviolable principle. And we regained our national dignity in part. But there's no stopping halfway, because today, when it has become clear that we are waging an undeclared war and that the republic's borders are in need of constant defence, it is equally clear that, by screwing us over gradually, one by one, they actually mean to begin screwing us all over, en masse.

The Ideal Parliament.—For unification to become possible, for us to achieve our goal, we need to master a most important rule: One cannot appeal to a higher justice while committing a number of minor injustices. If we want our appeals to be taken seriously, if we don't want them to be considered empty rhetoric, we need to command respect. We must reject bribes (direct or indirect—in the form of nomenklatura privileges) and we must feel like citizens and masters of our republic and soldiers on the field of battle. And for that we need to sense a strong like-minded home front. The Center is dragging its feet on ratifying the fact of Artsakh's [ancient name of Karabakh] self-determination. Consequently, we ourselves will have to carry out the oblast's economic and strategic integration into the republic. A highly important condition is essential for that purpose: the "human factor"—individuals and patriot-leaders who not only have no fear of bureaucrats from the Center but who can argue with them and stand up to them if necessary. Our public figures may well include quite a few people who are sincerely devoted to the national movement and who are doubtless prepared to stand up for the interests of the republic and the nation, even at the cost of losing their positions (those who have them), if only they can remain unsullied in the memory of the Armenian people. But even that is not enough. They need an appropriate professional and intellectual level that would enable them to convince people of their rightness. Leaders of that sort will be duly appreciated by the people, making it impossible for them to be removed from the political arena by a decision taken behind closed doors. In Artsakh we have an example of that kind of popular support for a Deputy in the case of Genrikh Pogosyan. Our nation's political representatives must be distinguished not only by profound patriotism but also by a high-level overview of the humanities that will make their pens sharp and their forthright speech—devoid of all equivocation—both lively and readily accessible and,

most important, their arguments incontestible. Economist and historian, politician and philosopher in a single person—that is the image toward which all our public figures must strive.

In order to lead the republic out of crisis, an opportunity to hold democratic elections must be granted. The popularly elected representatives must be people who are well acquainted with the people's ironic attitude toward official structures and who understand, as well, that our people is by nature a constitutional people that prefers a family and a permanent job in the framework of existing traditional structures, that prefers organized state self-defense over a nomadic and unsettled life and guerrilla warfare, and a legal and productive democratic movement over illegal situations. Our parliament must understand that unification is not possible as long as corruption flourishes, as long as some things are concealed from the people and some are transacted behind their backs. And without unification nothing is possible. Our parliament must be of a kind that would not be uncomfortable, because of its members' cultural deficiencies, having its sessions broadcast over the principal TV channel. It must be of a kind whose decisions would be competent and clear-cut, so that press organs would not dare to distort them and they could not be misapprehended or lost en route to the Center. It must be a parliament of like-minded people acting in unity with our People's Deputies, a parliament that is prompt in reacting to events, one that does not regularly divide into those who are left in the hall and those who stage a demonstrative walk-out. It must be a parliament where the unity of the general membership and the Presidium is evident, where one does not get the impression that the Presidium is marking time, ducking its responsibilities, "fogging" the essence of a question with procedural measures, and generally doing everything possible to impede the normal functioning of the democratic mechanism. A parliament where a Deputy's request for information from the government doesn't get lost, where urgent problems get solved promptly, and impending problems are anticipated, where conclusions are drawn from previous mistakes and then not forgotten. And we need a parliament of that kind as quickly as possible, because a considerable number of trials await us. A parliament that will not permit interference in the republic's internal affairs, interference that encroaches on generally accepted democratic norms. That will protest when the assistant editor of an oblast newspaper is arrested, rather than those who kill civilians with automatic weapons or burn people alive. True, the remnants of "the system," as always, react neither to blood nor to death nor injustice, but to a flouting of its "foundations" (which the opportunists are finding it very difficult to make out, and are therefore either groping their way or lashing out) and to freedom of truthful speech. A parliament that will not welcome the declaration of a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, because it will feel that such a declaration should be aimed, not at the area where the bullets are landing but at the one from which they're originating. Finally, it will not be overly

zealous in welcoming the declaration of a state of emergency even in Baku because, unfortunately, it is being declared too late, and less in order to save the remaining Armenians there (a salvation that is being understood solely in the form of evacuation, as during the times of Stalin's "great resettlement"—the exile of entire peoples) than to impede the forcible overthrow of the existing political system.

The Intelligentsia and the Imperial Myth—And the final subject I would like to touch on is the attitude of the Russian intelligentsia. It is painful to observe how the very same member of the Russian intelligentsia who wants to explain that his people suffered more than anyone else during the terror—how, with respect to the complaints lodged by our country's peoples against the Center and against a regime that is totally cut off from national realities (complaints that are in no sense directed against the Russian people), he will suddenly exclaim dolefully: "Was our tutelage really so hateful to you? Surely we brought you a lot that was good, didn't we?" As long as the Russian intelligentsia characteristically identifies with the system, until such time as it frees itself of that aberrant view, it will have great difficulty in finding a common language with us—the inhabitants of the numerous "outlying areas." After Sumgait, the press carried a group appeal by the intelligentsia at the Center addressed to the peoples and cultural figures of Azerbaijan and Armenia. And now, after Baku, comes a second letter to the "Corinthians." And it's as if the events of the past two years hadn't happened, as nothing had been clarified and there'd been no personal contacts, public statements and other opportunities to learn the truth. There's no telling from the letter who is knifing and raping whom and who is defending himself. One has to say: No, my dear "International" of cultural figures, though you may believe in our reason, we have long since ceased believing in your emotions! For two years now, those people have been unable to decide who is right and who is wrong in the Karabakh conflict. They have interpreted the formula, "neither victors nor vanquished" to mean "neither a right nor a wrong side." They have proven incapable of unambiguously taking sides—either the Armenian or the Azerbaijani—over Karabakh and, wittingly or not, have helped turn the people's natural act of self-determination into a "nationality conflict" that is basically unfolding in the form of genocide against one of the peoples involved, because even military clashes are tantamount to genocide when shotguns must face automatic weapons and mortars. They simply couldn't make up their minds to condemn Sumgait and the blockade unambiguously; they were unable to foresee that the "local conflict," if ignored and simultaneously fed a constant stream of kindling, would grow into a global one and would constitute a threat to their much cherished policy of "restructuring and reshaping." And now, suddenly alarmed, some of them are demanding UN intervention in the situation that has evolved in the so-called Transcaucasus, which they call by the even more general and less precise term of "the Caucasus." Why? Is it to achieve a just settlement of the

conflict and save the innocent Armenians who are perishing? No, of course not. It is to save "the empire." Otherwise, following the example of Mikhail Dudin, they would find time to express condolences to the Armenian people, instead of sending faceless group messages. Otherwise, G. Popov would not have suggested that Karabakh be given to the Armenians in exchange for Zangezur. Two years ago, in response to the Karabakh inhabitants' demand for self-determination, they cried: "What will happen to the local Azerbaidzhanis if Karabakh is given to the Armenians?" Did they really imagine there would be genocide against the Azerbaidzhanis? Did they think the Azerbaidzhanis would suffer the fate that was subsequently to befall the Armenians in Sumgait, Kirovabad and Baku? They forgot that in the opening days of the February events the Azerbaidzhanis had stood together with the Armenians at rallies in Stepanakert. They never asked themselves: Just how have the Karabakh Armenians lived and survived these past 70 years? But they were immediately "concerned" for the future of the local Azerbaidzhanis. Happy to heap the entire blame for the present troubles on the Stalinist past, they don't want to remember the recent and very recent past, when there was still time to set the situation straight. Foisting the blame for what has happened on the top leadership's indecisiveness, they are presently reaping (as are we) the fruits of their imperial ambitions. But when they themselves should have been showing human concern and taking a public stand—possibly even taking a stand against the top leadership—they were unwilling to assume the responsibility. It's an old and aggravating ploy: Applaud first, then set about criticizing with a look of intelligence and honesty about you. They were only too willing to concur in the opinion of the state. It's true, unfortunately, that the Center has formed the habit, going back for centuries, of "overlooking" the Armenians and their problems, and also the fact that their throats are being cut: "Why bother? When we need them, they'll be our natural allies. And where can they go? Nowhere!" What is one to say of a mind-set like that? Let us say, in the words of Aleksandr Griboyedov, who was to Armenians in 1828 what Andrei Sakharov was in 1988: "There is no people as quick to conquer as the Russians and none as inept at utilizing its conquests."

There is no difference between a Nishanov strawberry and the intelligentsia's appeals for "reason": Both are attempts at hiding one's head in the sand. But it would be interesting to know whether the intelligentsia, which abandons all of its democratic views just as soon as the question of real self-determination by national minorities arises, has now finally understood, or has yet to grasp, the fact that Karabakh simply must determine its own future totally; otherwise, the Karabakh inhabitants face the threat of endless Bakus and Sumgait.

Azeri Official on Moscow Trip to Discuss Baku Emigre Return

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[Interview with K. V. Shcherbakov, by N. Azizov: "First of All, Return Home"]

[Text] The January events have become the reason for the departure from Azerbaijan, chiefly from Baku, of a considerable segment of the Russian-speaking population. The republic's leadership has been applying great efforts to stop this process. The work of returning our countrymen has been under their constant scrutiny every single day, and hundreds of persons have been involved in that work.

Recently a group of responsible workers from soviet agencies returned from Moscow after going to the capital on instructions from the republic government. At a conference that was conducted at the AzSSR Council of Ministers, the participants discussed their report on the work that had been done and worked out a series of measures to return the refugees. At the request of Azerinform correspondent N. Azizov, K. V. Shcherbakov, first deputy chairman of the ispolkom of Bakgorsovet [Baku City Soviet], discusses the tasks and practical results of the trip.

[K. Shcherbakov] We were given the task of establishing precisely the number of Russian-speaking persons who had left the republic, including able-bodied individuals, as well as their occupational and social makeup. Simultaneously we were to establish the places where the refugees were living temporarily.

With regard to all the questions that were of interest to us, we had meetings with the leadership and responsible workers at USSR and RSFSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems], and spent several days with the RSFSR Council of Ministers working group that is registering the Russian-speaking refugees from Azerbaijan. Together with A. P. Blokhin, chairman of RSFSR Goskomtrud, we made a trip to the USSR Council of Ministers rest home in the Moscow suburb of Kaliningrad, where we talked to our countrymen and told them about the present situation in Baku and in the republic as a whole.

We established the following. As of the end of January, RSFSR Sovmin [Council of Ministers] and Goskomtrud workers registered approximately 15,000 Russian-speaking refugees from Azerbaijan. Most of the refugees registered in Moscow are living with relatives or friends. More than 5500 persons have been temporarily housed in boarding homes, rest homes, and Young Pioneer camps under the jurisdiction of union ministries and departments, including 3500 on the territory of Moscow Oblast, where they have been provided with free meals and medical service and the children are attending nearby schools. The rest have been housed in sanatoriums in 11 neighboring oblasts. A rather

large number of refugees have independently found accommodations for themselves in Kalinin, Kaluga, Ryazan, Tula, Voronezh, Kursk, Lipetsk, and Rostov oblasts. A considerable number of them are concentrated in Krasnodar and Stavropol krais.

Of the 3500 persons temporarily living in 46 boarding homes and recuperation centers in Moscow Oblast, 1840 are persons of able-bodied age, including approximately 1000 engineer-technical workers and employees and more than 600 laborers, primarily with a high level of proficiency, who had worked in various branches of the national economy in Azerbaijan, as well as 500 retirees.

As is well known, all questions of registering, housing, and finding jobs for the Russian-speaking refugees from Azerbaijan are dealt with, on instructions from RSFSR Council of Ministers, by a special staff headed by Yu. V. Roshchin, deputy chairman of RSFSR Goskomtrud, and that committee's Administration for Migration and Resettlement. We were present at two conferences at USSR Goskomtrud with the participation of representatives of the union ministries and departments that are engaged in refugee affairs. At those conferences, the appropriate explanations were given concerning the procedure for providing the refugees with housing and jobs. In particular, mention was made of the impossibility of providing housing and jobs in Moscow city or Moscow Oblast, or in Leningrad city or Leningrad Oblast. There are no problems in finding jobs for them in the agricultural rayons of the Nonchernozem Area, Siberia, or the Far East, where various kinds of specialists are needed. In a number of agricultural rayons, the refugees are offered apartments or separate homes. The situation is more difficult with the providing of housing in cities of oblast size or rayon centers, where a refugee family can be allocated, at best, a room in a family dormitory.

[N. Azizov] If the Azerbaijan public wants to learn anything about the reasons for the departure of the republic's Russian-speaking population or our countrymen's present-day situation, it is necessary for the most part to rely on items printed in the central press and statements made on unionwide television and radio. It must, however, be noted that the refugees who are interviewed are, as a rule, family members of military personnel who have left Baku and other rayons. Therefore I would like to hear from you, as a person who has frequently met with another category of refugees—representatives of the civilian population—specifically their opinion about the events that are occurring in the republic.

[K. Shcherbakov] We listened attentively to all the refugees' claims and wishes, and ascertained what they desired. As a result of meetings with them, we ascertained several typical reasons that forced people to leave the places where they had been well established. First of all, the lack of any guarantees of personal security or the security of their family members. The circumstances linked with the continuing strikes had become rather serious, and there were fears that people would not be

paid any money for the forced absenteeism, and consequently, there would be difficulties providing for their families' material needs. Another factor that definitely played a role was the spreading of rumors concerning the allegedly expected closing of schools with Russian-language instruction, and fabrications concerning acts of violence and discrimination that had allegedly been directed against the Russian-speaking population in stores, at markets, and in other public places.

I want to state immediately that the refugees include a very large number of persons who were simply intimidated by the events, who gave way to panic, and thus left the republic as a result of shameful rumors. Most of them simply do not know the true state of affairs in Baku or know about the stabilization of the situation. Persons in this category avidly listened to our reports and positively evaluated the statements made on the pages of newspapers by the republic leadership, the intellectuals, and Azerbaijani workers, in which they appealed to the Russian-speaking population not to leave Baku, and appealed to those who had already left, to return to their homes and their jobs, where their coworkers were waiting for them. I think that, if consistent and dynamic explanatory work is carried out among them, and also if definite guarantees of security are provided, a considerable number of refugees in this category will return home.

However, one cannot close one's eyes to the fact that some of the persons who left, and primarily the intellectuals—teachers, physicians, and engineer-technical workers—feel that the complications that have arisen as a result of the changeover of official correspondence to the republic's state language are linked with hypothetical difficulties that might appear in their future professional growth as a result of their lack of knowledge of the Azeri language. They did not conceal their lack of confidence about their children's future when attending institutions of higher learning or technicums, or when trying to find a job.

At the same time, the persons who left in January also include a rather large number of those who took advantage of the situation that had developed and, as a result of their lack of satisfaction with their living conditions, their poor housing conditions, or their failures on the job, have been attempting, while acting in the guise of refugees, to resolve their everyday-housing and other questions.

I cannot fail to mention the fact that the USSR and RSFSR Goskomtrud leadership has expressed its satisfaction with the position taken by the Azerbaijan government, which is carrying out consistent work aimed at returning the Russian-speaking population to the republic. There has been a recommendation to develop a plan for joint measures to prevent the further departure of the Russian-speaking population from Azerbaijan, and also to return the people who left our republic during the January events. A. P. Blokhin is planning to come here to coordinate the joint efforts.

[N. Azizov] To conclude, could you please tell us briefly about the conference at AzSSR Council of Ministers?

[K. Shcherbakov] At that conference, in which many members of the government took part, a broad series of measures was worked out. It was planned to carry out work simultaneously in several directions: in the republic, at the refugees' place of residence and work, making wide use at such time of the opportunities available to the mass media, and also in Moscow. It is necessary first of all to achieve the stabilization of the situation in the republic, thus making it possible to create the conditions to guarantee the security of any citizen of the republic, irrespective of his nationality. It is planned to continue the explanatory activities at people's place of work and residency, to guarantee the observance of real bilingualism in the labor collectives, and to improve the work of teaching the Russian-speaking population the Azeri language.

The work being carried out at the places where the refugees are living temporarily in Moscow is supposed to have a major effect. Within a few days a large group will go to the capital. That group consists of representatives of soviet agencies, ministries, and departments, and the republic's mass media, and it will study in a specific manner the concerns of each individual family. I think that all of this will make it possible to create the conditions for the return of a considerable number of the refugees. We all have a self-interest in this.

Azeri Official Comments On Aid To Emigrants From Armenia

90US07484 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
21 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with A.G. Kerimov, chairman of the republic State Committee for Labor, by correspondent G. Tagiyeva: "Refugees: Help For Each Family"]

[Text] In October of last year the republic Council of Ministers approved the resolution "On Payment of a One-Time Allowance to Citizens of Azerbaijani Nationality Who Were Forced to Leave Their Place of Permanent Residence and Work." At that time republic Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor] Chairman A.G. Kerimov commented on the basic theses of this resolution and talked about the measures which were planned for its realization in an interview with an AZERINFORM correspondent.

More than five months have passed and our new conversation with Ali Kerimov begins with the question, "What has been accomplished during this time?"

[KERIMOV] In the period since the approval of the resolution mentioned above, much work has been done in the republic on providing payment of a one-time allowance to Azerbaijanis who were forced to leave their places of permanent residence in the Armenian SSR and who arrived in our republic. In all cities and rayons where refugees from Armenia have been accommodated,

corresponding commissions attached to the ispolkoms of local Soviets of People's Deputies are operating.

At the present the overwhelming majority of citizens has already received its one-time allowance. By 12 March of this year in the republic as a whole, 74,000 applications for the allowance, that is, from almost all refugees of working age from Armenia, had been received by the commissions attached to the rayon and city ispolkoms. The allowance has been distributed to more than 55,000 people for a total of 26 million rubles, an average of 471 rubles per person. According to our data, in 19 republic rayons everybody who submitted an application already has received the allowance. Payment of the allowance is being completed in Sumgait, Ali-Bayramly and the Agdamskiy, Bardinskiy, Dashkesanskiy, Vartashenskiy and Shemakhinskiy rayons. The largest number of refugees receiving the allowance are in Baku, approximately 20,000 people for a total of 9.6 million rubles; in Gyandzh more than 7,000 people and in Sumgait more than 5,000 for a total of 6.8 million rubles.

Simultaneously, the republic Goskomtrud and its Center for Employment, Retraining, and Job Counseling of the Population, as well as its local organs, continuously conduct work to find employment for the refugees, something which we consider very important for their future adjustment and the improvement of their material situation. The overwhelming majority of working-age refugees from Armenia at the present have found employment.

[RABOCHIY] But there must be difficulties!

[KERIMOV] Of course, and quite a few. First of all, I would remind you that a mandatory condition for payment of the one-time allowance is that the citizen have a permanent, or temporary registration to live at the new location. However, a number of refugees first went to other regions of the country, lived there for a time, sometimes worked and then moved to the Azerbaijan SSR and still have not made a final decision on their permanent place of residence. A portion of the new arrivals who came directly from Armenia also have not chosen a new permanent place of residence within the territory of the republic and have moved from rayon to rayon. It happens that citizens who live in Baku, but who are not registered, apply for the allowance. Taking advantage of the opportunity, I would like to remind these people that sufficient time has already passed to choose a permanent place of residence and to be registered. That is necessary not only to receive the allowance but also to resolve other problems connected with their settlement.

Because of the fact that it is in Baku where a significant part of the refugees from Armenia are located, for some of whom serious problems arose in finding employment, first of all, because of their lack of a residence registration, in February of this year G.A. Gasanov, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, conducted a meeting with representatives of the ministries and departments

working on the problem. At the request of the republic government, Goskomtrud along with the Baku gor-ispolkom, the statistical organs and the republic society of refugees, once again conducted an overall count of refugees which showed that more than 6,000 citizens, who were forced to leave their permanent residences, live in Baku without registration. Along with this an analysis of the occupational profile of the registered refugees of working age shows that a large portion consists of workers with agricultural professions; livestock specialists, agronomists and collective farm and state farm workers, something which complicates opportunities for placing them in jobs in urban conditions.

I think that it would help to settle these refugees in the Altyagach-Khyzin zone of the Apsheronky rayon where, in accordance with a resolution of the republic Council of Ministers, the construction of apartment buildings, social-cultural and communal-welfare facilities has begun and where 14 collective farms and a number of enterprises will be created in order to provide jobs for the newcomers.

During the course of the work to provide payment of the one-time allowance other difficulties arise as well which are associated with the refugee's lack of necessary documents, for example, confirming the size of their salary at their previous place of employment. In that case a resolution of the republic Council of Ministers stipulates that the size of the one-time allowance will be calculated on the basis of a salary of 100 rubles per month for agricultural workers and 150 for those who worked in other branches of the economy. Goskomtrud and its local organs provide corresponding explanations of this. In addition, the rayon and city commissions send inquiries to Armenia to the citizens' former places of employment regarding confirmation of their salaries. Thus, approximately 700 inquiries have been sent from Mingeaur and more than 1,100 and 1,500 respectively from the Nizaminsky and Kirovskiy rayons of Baku. We have sent a number of inquiries to the Armenian SSR Goskomtrud and also to the citizens' former places of employment with requests for assistance in obtaining documents. A number of months have passed since many of them were sent and in the overwhelming majority of cases answers have not been received.

Many citizens who have arrived from Armenia do not have any documents confirming their former employment record. The inquiries which are made in these cases also remain unanswered. The refugees who arrived from rayons of the Armenian SSR which suffered from the earthquake also do not have documents confirming their work experience and their average monthly income.

[RABOCHIY] What is being done concretely to resolve these problems?

[KERIMOV] The Azerbaijan SSR Goskomtrud, in supervising the payment of the one-time allowance, conducts necessary methodical, explanatory work. We try to show special sensitivity and attention to the

refugees and provide the maximum help possible. The republic Council of Ministers and Goskomtrud receive numerous applications from citizens who were forced to leave their places of permanent residence. Each application is thoroughly examined and concrete measures are taken on each one.

Taking into account the difficult material situation of the refugees and in order to avoid a delay in paying the allowance, Goskomtrud, in coordination with the corresponding commission of the republic Council of Ministers, has issued additional explanations to the rayon and city ispolkoms about the procedure to be followed in paying the one-time allowance in the absence of documents confirming the work experience at the former place of permanent residence. In this case at the expiration of a one-month deadline from the day an inquiry is sent to the Armenian SSR and in the absence of an answer, it has been recommended to consider the testimony of not less than three witnesses who lived in the Armenian SSR in the same town as the citizen who applied for the allowance. The testimony of the witnesses is drawn up in a corresponding act and notarized. In this case the size of the one-time allowance is also determined based on a salary of 100 rubles per month for those who were employed in agriculture and 150 rubles for those who worked in other branches of the economy.

In conclusion I want to say that progress in carrying out the resolution of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers was recently examined at a board session of the republic Goskomtrud. Noting the work already accomplished, those who spoke emphasized the importance of its swift completion, the exclusion of formalism and a callous attitude towards people. It is also necessary to accelerate the process of placing the refugees in jobs. But much here depends on the people themselves, their motivation and attempts to improve their situation.

Gumbaridze Rejects Draft Law on President

90US0760A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
12 Mar 90 pp 1,3

[GRUZINFORM report: "An Extraordinary Session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The recently published USSR draft law instituting the post of president of the USSR and introduction of the corresponding changes and amendments in the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) has evoked a lively interest in our republic. In the labor collectives and at gatherings and meetings of sociopolitical organizations an in-depth exchange of opinion has developed on this draft legislation, and it has been emphasized that under present conditions establishing the institution of presidential power will not help in the development of democracy, since it serves only to consolidate the position of the center while weakening the power of the union republics and restricting their sovereignty. Public opinion was unanimous on the need—before the extraordinary Third USSR Congress of People's Deputies, at which it is planned to discuss the new draft legislation, is

convened—to convene an extraordinary session of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet to work out a position of principle on this issue.

The extraordinary session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet took place on 9 March, and this issue was raised for debate.

Representatives of the public organizations were invited to the session.

The session was opened by Deputy G.G. Gumbaridze, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He said the following:

We have gathered here today for an extraordinary session to review an exceptionally important and fundamental question.

You are all well aware of the dynamic times in which we live. A complex transitional period has begun in the life of the entire country. The processes of perestroika and democratization in all spheres of public life, political and state structures, and social and production relations are blazing the trail under conditions of open opposition from opposing forces.

Never at any time has breaking down the old and building the new been easy. And our life today is once again confirming this truth.

I believe I am expressing general opinion when I say that the Georgian parliament has always supported, and still supports, the course of perestroika and democratization initiated by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

This is matter of principle, for only true, real democratization, only the unity of word and deed will bring Georgia to full sovereignty and realize the national interests and the aspirations of its people, of which entire generations of them have dreamed.

Any other road will lead to the restoration of the command- bureaucratic methods and of dictatorship.

This is precisely why each deputy, the entire parliament, and all the people (I have no doubt on this score) are actively, in a businesslike manner, and concretely supporting the further deepening of democratization and the processes of renewal in the country in accordance with common human and national ideals and the ideals of socialist justice.

You are well aware how intensively, in an atmosphere of constructive dialogue, the Georgian Supreme Soviet has been working. Very important draft legislation that defines tomorrow's political, economic, social, and state development in Georgia has been examined.

And the latest session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet has adopted such draft legislation affecting the fundamental issues of national- state development in the

republic. A new package of draft laws is being prepared, along with decisions on matters of vital importance for our republic.

We are deeply convinced and believe that the Georgian parliament of today and of tomorrow should go along precisely that road, boldly and with due consideration of our specific features, and should raise and resolve the very important political and economic problems that have built up over the decades, and the urgent questions of social and cultural development that are of concern to the Georgian people and all inhabitants of the republic.

The progressive shifts taking place throughout the country, the concept of our national development, the will of the people, and the responsibility of each of us and of the entire parliament not only permit but oblige us to reach the kind of bold, fundamental, well- considered solutions that are calculated for the long term.

And this is why we have gathered here today.

As you know, in a few days the Extraordinary, Third USSR Congress of People's Deputies will start; along with other matters it will consider draft legislation on establishing the post of president of the USSR and on making appropriate changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution.

We should review any draft legislation, especially legislation as important as this, primarily from the standpoint of our republic, proceeding from its vital interests. This is our direct duty, our responsibility.

Giving due consideration to the opinion of a considerable proportion of deputies to the Supreme Soviet and the Georgian public in general, we have deemed it necessary on the eve of the Third USSR Congress of People's Deputies to formulate our own position with respect to the draft legislation on establishing the post of president of the USSR so that our representatives can defend it at the Congress.

It is clear to us that establishing the post and the corresponding power of the president has already been tested in leading countries of the world as a means of consolidating the constitutional order and creating a rule-of-law state. Nothing is disputed here.

But I think that I am expressing the opinion of the majority of deputies (we have discussed this and exchanged opinions with the members of the presidium and some deputies) when I say that the draft legislation in its present form is not acceptable.

In particular it cannot be accepted because:

—it does not take into account the state order of the Soviet Union, whose essence is a union of sovereign states;

—it does not make provision for the president being a guarantee of self-determination for the republics and

- their territorial integrity and inviolability, or their independent and free development;
- it does not make provision for any effective mechanism to control the power and competence of the president, which in some cases may be fraught with unforeseeable consequences;
- it does not make provision for the establishment in a Union republic of a corresponding presidential power, which infringes on the republic's independence and sovereignty;
- the "safeguarding... of the security and territorial integrity of the country" mentioned in paragraph 2 of article 127 should imply the safeguarding from encroachment only by foreign forces on the country's entire territory, but should in no way restrict self-determination of the nations and their secession from any given republic from the USSR. This should be indicated directly.

There are also other points, but I have reported here only on the most substantial.

I think that deputies will support a proposal that the Third USSR Congress of People's Deputies should be officially informed that this is the position of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, and that the deputies from our republic will staunchly defend it.

Permit me to present the draft of the proposal that has been considered and to submit it to the session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

G.G. Gumbaridze then familiarized the deputies with the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet draft resolution "On Guarantees for Safeguarding the State Sovereignty of Georgia."

Deputies G.Sh. Tsitsishvili, D.A. Charkviani, V.A. Sharashenidze, A.V. Burdzhanaidze, D.A. Khakhutaishvili, and G.D. Lordkipanidze took part in the discussion of this draft.

With this, the extraordinary session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet completed its work.

The work of the session was relayed over the radio for those attending a meeting taking place in front of Government House.

Georgian Komsomol Prepares for Dissolution

90US0764A Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian
23 Mar 90 pp 1, 8

[E. Kartvelishvili report: "A Chance for Self-Determination. The Fate of the Komsomol in Georgia Will Be Decided in Two Months"]

[Text] More than 600,000 young men and women—members of the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] (a more accurate number cannot be cited today)—have been waiting with impatience for this

congress and its results. Almost every delegate to the 34th republic Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] forum talked about this when they spoke from the congress rostrum, proclaiming the will of their own electors finally to resolve the question of the formal existence of the republic Komsomol organization. In the debate that started immediately following the report presented by Sesili Gogiberidze, the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, which reflected the present crisis in the republic, it was not a matter of Hamlet's question: "To be or not to be?" The disputes revolved mainly about how to resolve the question of self-dissolution and whether the congress is or is not empowered to proclaim self-liquidation, and which mechanisms are lawful and which not.

The debates in the conference hall in the youth village of Shavnabad, where the extraordinary congress was conducting its work, were hot and sharp. And the atmosphere was exacerbated a great deal not only by the presence of pickets from the informals outside the walls of the conference hall, but also by the presence within the hall of representatives of the National Forum. That group had previously passed a special resolution at its own congress demanding the liquidation of the Komsomol and the transfer of its property and real estate to a new Georgian youth organization, if such were set up. The shadow of this resolution hung over the congress and played an important role in subsequent events. But more about this later.

For now let us return to the main issue—the fate of the Georgian Komsomol organization, which, as is known, is an integral part of the VLKSM. I think that the pressure from the informals, even though it has been felt for some time, and starting from the time when the new spark of the national-liberation movement was seen, has been only of intermediate significance. And mainly because actual self-dissolution, or more precisely, the process that should lead to that, started within the organization itself. Let me refer you to the figures what were cited in the statement by Levan Chikvaide, first secretary of the Mtatsmindskiy (former Kalininskiy) Komsomol Raykom [rayon party committee] in Tbilisi city: At the beginning of last year 11,000 Komsomol members were registered in the raykom, and this year the figure is 6,000; 2,000 of them are paying their dues, and even that is by transfer. The position is similar in other rayons.

Following these facts, which evoked no incredulity at all among the rank-and-file Komsomol members, a warning was sounded at the congress: If the issue of self-liquidation is not resolved "from above" it will be resolved "from below." For, according to those who spoke, most members of the VLKSM have not assumed their mandates merely because they were waiting for the congress.

It is not possible to talk in detail about the peripeteia in the debates, the more so since, after the opening plenary session of the congress they were moved into sections

where the delegates worked in groups to draw up the main provisions of the congress resolution. Let me say only that there was a constructive search for legitimate, democratic ways to disband the organization that would provide an opportunity for each member and each primary organization itself to decide without pressure from the outside or, more, "from above." For it cannot be ruled out that some young people will want to remain in the ranks of the VIKSM. It was precisely this argument that became decisive in the compromise decision reached by the congress not to take to itself the power to disband itself, but to provide a two-month period during which all members of the VIKSM can define their own positions. Then a coordinating commission was set up to regulate the process of self-determination and resolve issues relating to finding work subsequently for Komsomol workers who are no longer employed.

A draft resolution was submitted for approval by the congress. However, the hasty process of proceeding without counting the votes (even though the "ayes" were in the majority) and the hasty closing of the congress—after it became clear that some of the informals had occupied the Komsomol Central Committee premises—without debate on the resolution, evoked dissatisfaction among delegates. Some of them refused to leave the conference hall and at the proposal of Georgiy Dobordzhgindze, chief of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee Propaganda Department, Mariana Tskharadze, first secretary of the Bakivskiy (formerly Ordzhonikidzevskiy) Komsomol Raykom, and Levan Chikvaдзе, first secretary of the Mtatsmudskiy Komsomol Raykom, formed an initiative group to set up a Union of Free Youth of Georgia, a public organization whose charter and program has been published as an alternative in the republic youth newspapers.

As Georgiy Dobordzhgindze said in his short statement, the new organization is not political but rather a movement, and so people of differing political convictions in any political party or association can become members, and it will be free from any kind of ideology. Consequently, under the conditions of the National Forum, the Union of Free Youth of Georgia will become the direct legatee of the property of a Komsomol that is now in extremis.

The extraordinary Komsomol congress became a constituent meeting to set up an initiative group for the Union of Free Youth of Georgia, and an agenda was announced: Confirm an interim charter and program for the organization that will remain in force until a constituent congress is convened; conduct elections for an organizational committee to convene that congress; define the functions of the union.

The debates resulting from these matters did not last long. The lights went out both in the hall and throughout the youth village. It was decided to go to the Komsomol Central Committee and continue the work there. But Machabeli Street was pitch black and only the building facing the Central Committee shone with the lamps

that the informals had lit as a sign of protest. They left only after they learned about the two-month period for self-determination that will precede the disbanding of the Komsomol and that a new non-political youth organization was already being set up.

The meeting continued its work despite the late hour. After some time those present—about 100 people—were joined by Seshi Gogberidze, who expressed his desire to be a member of the initiative group for the Union of Free Youth of Georgia.

It should be said that this decision by our republic Komsomol leadership, which even recently supported other positions, evoked some astonishment among those present, and among the many others who had been at the congress during the day. And something strange did occur that remains for many an enigma whose solution must be sought in a behind-closed-doors game played behind the backs of the young people themselves. And the young people themselves, in the person of their delegates, have apparently been led back to the good old times to play the role of extras.

And so, if the Komsomol does leave the political arena it will be without violating its own traditions, and this means without regret on our side.

To replace it there will be a new youth organization. What will it be like? A continuation of the Komsomol? We shall see.

The day following the congress the coordinating committee, which will function from 1 June under the chairmanship of Seshi Gogberidze, devised a mechanism to carry through self-determination.

Until 1 June all members of the Komsomol should define their own positions, proceeding from whether they want to unite themselves in some kind of organization or withdraw from the ranks of the VIKSM.

Those Komsomol members who remain undecided as of 1 June will be considered former members of the Komsomol.

All organizations left with less than three VIKSM members will be considered disbanded.

The countdown has started.

G. Gumbardze, chairman of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the republic extraordinary Komsomol congress. V. Gurgenidze, Georgian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, took part in the work of the congress. Representatives of the National Forum, I. Tsereteli and I. Kakabadze, spoke at the congress.

Sobchak Examines Ligachev's Defense of Role in April Tbilisi Events

90US06924 Moscow *OGONEK* in Russian 3 Mar 90
pp 26-27

[Article by A.A. Sobchak: "Around the Truth: Postscript to the Work of One of the Commissions of the Congress of People's Deputies"]

[Text] Our heated discussions on pre-election, parliamentary and other standards are unfortunately still in the realm of good intentions. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain the persistence with which we are forced over and over again to return to subjects one would think we had exhausted. Some people are simply drawn to reminiscences. These "reminiscences" are sometimes tinged with incompetence, while in other cases they smack of a desperate attempt to purify the uniform at any cost.... There is nothing particularly surprising about this. There is nothing new in such a desire. And there would be no point in citing yet another example if we were dealing with an ordinary event. But we are once again discussing the Tbilisi tragedy, after all. We know that certain respected ministries and departments openly hampered the investigation of certain events when they were conducted at the republic level. Finally, however, they were taken up by a commission of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. The results have been published. But voices are still being heard casting doubt upon the quality and fairness with which the information was studied. And this is not in some rural club, but on television, even at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It is difficult to assess all of this as anything other than a lack of respect for the nation's parliament, for its members, elected by the people, and for their decisions. Only because the commission's conclusions continue to be subjected to doubt at the most diverse levels and the editorial board of the magazine *Ogonek* is also being subjected to doubt, we have turned once again to Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, people's deputy of the USSR, and asked him to assess what occurred.

Totally unexpectedly (and to us as well—see "A Week in February" in issue No 8 of *Ogonek* for 1990—editor) Comrade Ligachev returned to assessing the Tbilisi events at the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.... It seemed even stranger since, during a meeting with the parliament commission, Yegor Kuzmich stressed the fact that except for a working conference on 7 April 1989 there had been no session of the Politburo to discuss Tbilisi. And then, out of the blue, he stated the exact opposite at the plenum. There was a session, he said, at which M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, E.A. Shevardnadze and A.N. Yakovlev, who flew in from London, all took part.

The speaker apparently had in mind the formal meeting which took place at approximately 23:30 after the delegation returned from England. It did indeed take place in the deputy's room at the airport, and the aforementioned individuals were present.

We members of the commission of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR wanted to know just who had reported to the leader of the party and the nation on the events occurring in Tbilisi, what the information consisted of and what decisions had been made. All of the leaders questioned—comrades Chebrikov, Ligachev, Shevardnadze and Yazov—told us that the meeting at the airport had been a formality, unofficial. M.S. Gorbachev and the comrades who flew in with him from London already knew about the events in Tbilisi, but none of them could recall exactly from whom the information had come. Comrade Yazov alone stated that it had come from Ye.K. Ligachev.

There was an exchange of opinions on the run, and a decision was made to send comrades Shevardnadze and Razumovskiy to the capital of Georgia. The plane was ready for takeoff, when a reassuring telegram arrived from Comrade Patiashvili, head of the Georgian party organization at that time. He was telephoned immediately, but he said that he could see no need for them to come. The flight was postponed for a day.

M.S. Gorbachev left for a rest, and the participants in the meeting at the airport, except for Ye.K. Ligachev, who left for a vacation—that is, comrades Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Kryuchkov, Bakatin and Lukyanov—once again brought up the subject of Tbilisi in the CPSU Central Committee the following day. Once again they contacted D.I. Patiashvili and, since they once again received a reassuring answer, decided that there was no need for E.A. Shevardnadze and G.P. Razumovskiy to fly to Georgia.

According to the participants in the meeting, all of them learned of the events which took place in Tbilisi on the night of 8 April 1989 only after the tragedy had already occurred.

This is the letter I received from Ye.K. Ligachev in October of last year (I am citing the full text):

"Anatoliy Aleksandrovich: Due to the publication of the conclusions drawn by the Georgian commission on the events of 9 April in Tbilisi, which refers to the findings of the Union commission, I felt it necessary to send you this note.—Respectfully, Ligachev, 6 Nov 89

To Comrade A.A. Sobchak, chairman of the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet for investigating the events of 9 April 1989 in the city of Tbilisi

Dear Anatoliy Aleksandrovich:

I recently read the conclusions drawn by the commission of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet for investigating the events of 9 April 1989 in Tbilisi, which were published in the republic newspaper *Kommunist* (23 September 1989).

I consider it essential to point out the following to you. The authors of this document meaningfully assert that at the conference held on 7 April of this year in the CPSU Central Committee and chaired by Ye. Ligachev, "it was

decided to satisfy the request of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee for assistance in the form of military force." It goes on to say that this "is confirmed by the findings from the investigation conducted by the commission appointed by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR." To my knowledge, however, the commission you headed did not publish its findings. This fact is what prompted me to turn to you personally.

I want to confirm what I said at the session of the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet. An exchange of opinions on the situation in Georgia did in fact take place in the CPSU Central Committee on 7 April of this year, with the participation of members of the Politburo, candidate members of the Politburo and Central Committee secretaries.

At the end of the session I pointed out that the request for troops to maintain public order and the establishment of a curfew were not discussed collectively in Georgia's republic organs but actually came from Comrade D.I. Patiashvili. In view of this I propose recommending to the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee that it discuss the situation in directing republic soviet and party organs: the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers and the Communist Party Central Committee. I also particularly stress the fact that political methods should be used and that they should step up the work performed with the participants in mass meetings and in the labor collectives and not sit around in offices.

The proposals were transmitted by the Central Committee secretaries to Comrade D.I. Patiashvili. Unfortunately, these fundamentally important instructions from the CPSU Central Committee were not indicated in the commission's conclusions.

Soon after that the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee sent several encoded telegrams to Moscow (they were read at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR by Comrade A.I. Lukyanov). By that time—on the morning of 8 April, to be exact—I departed for an already scheduled vacation.

When the matter was discussed on 7 April the desire was expressed and was brought to the attention of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Defense that forces and equipment must be readied in case events developed in a dangerous way threatening the lives of people. And particularly not to prevent the errors which made it impossible to prevent the well-known tragedy in Sumgait. Unfortunately, our fears were subsequently confirmed by the events in Abkhaziya and Fergana, when it became necessary urgently to move in troops from other regions and we still did not succeed in keeping people from being killed and wounded or preventing their grief and suffering.

I would like to point out the fact that, according to the report from the leadership of the Georgian Communist

Party Central Committee, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and departments of the CPSU Central Committee, the situation in Tbilisi had already grown complicated at that time, and dangerous extremism was growing.

I absolutely cannot agree with the Georgian commission's statement in the newspaper that "the events of 9 April were no secret to the nation's leadership, including Ligachev." The nation's leadership learned of the tragic events after they had occurred. *With respect to me, I can say that I learned about it from a television report (italics ours—editor).*

Strictly speaking, prior to and following 7 April I did not take part in the discussion of the Georgian issues.

These are the facts. Please acquaint the members of the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet with this note.—Respectfully, Ye. Ligachev, 6 October 1989" (Note from A.A. Sobchak: The letter presented contains Ye.K. Ligachev's writing style and spelling. Comrade Ligachev mistakenly calls the commission of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR the commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet.)

Yegor Kuzmich reported to our parliamentary commission: "I did not deal with the problems pertaining to the events in Georgia either prior to or after the conference." And the conference was actually "simply an exchange of opinions, whatever came to anyone's mind." The result, however, was that troops were moved to Tbilisi, and generals Rodionov and Kochetov began preparations for an operation.

It is only natural to ask when Yegor Kuzmich was telling the truth? When he gave the explanation to the commission and asserted that there had been no Politburo meeting but that there was a working meeting, an exchange of opinions? At the 2nd Congress of People's Deputies? Or in the letter to the chairman of the parliamentary commission? Or perhaps the truth was contained in his address at the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee?

What Ligachev said at the commission session and in the letter to me is fully consistent with the explanations given by other participants in the consultations and the meeting at the airport. If one believes what Yegor Kuzmich said at the February CC plenum, however, one has to question the truthfulness of the testimony given by the other participants in the meeting at the airport.

This is an extremely serious matter, since it involves the highest leaders of the party and the state and the testimony which they gave our commission. This is why the situation changed after what Ye.K. Ligachev said at the plenum, and it demands thorough clarification.

So just what did the other participants in the memorable meeting at the airport testify? I shall cite the shorthand record.

D. Yazov:

"Mikhail Sergeyevich flew in from England at about 23:30. Everyone was there to meet him. Following a short briefing by Mikhail Sergeyevich on his trip to Cuba and then to England, he immediately asked about the situation here. He had a general knowledge of what was occurring in Tbilisi. Comrade Ligachev said: 'We received some encoded message today from Comrade Patiashvili. What decision was made? It was decided to send Comrade Shevardnadze and Comrade Razumovskiy there to work out all of the problems at the site. And if they should decide to declare a curfew, the decision would be renewed to send one regiment of an airborne division and a number of other units to protect public facilities.'"

V. Chebrikov:

"There was a discussion at the airport about what kind of steps were to be taken. Gorbachev advised sending Comrade Shevardnadze and Comrade Razumovskiy to Tbilisi. 'They should weigh the matter and think about when, however, I agree to send them right now. But this is one of those situations....' The discussions continued during the night.... We gathered again. It was the following day, on Saturday. I conducted this consultation. Our group of comrades discussed the matter. We weighed all of the 'pros' and 'cons.' We asked to make another telephone call. Once again, the discussion indicated that nothing was needed. An aircraft stood at the airport, everything was normal.... This is why the decision was made for Comrade Shevardnadze and Comrade Razumovskiy not to make the trip. It was postponed.... If Patiashvili had not disrupted things with Shevardnadze and Razumovskiy, they would have arrived a day earlier and would not have permitted what occurred. There was still a chance. They would never have taken this step.

I want to point out a large number of details of our investigation, a number of facts which we cannot clearly interpret even now.

Gen Radionov testified to the commission that as early as 6 April B. Nikolskiy, former second secretary of the Georgian Central Committee, had demanded from him 8,000 soldiers to establish order in Tbilisi. Nikolskiy denies this.

Gen Samsonov, chief of staff of the Transcaucasus Military District:

"At approximately 18:30 on 6 April Nikolskiy telephoned me and asked for troops to establish order. I replied that the district could not do this. Comrade Nikolskiy telephoned again approximately 30-40 minutes later and said that he could not contact the district commander. Samsonov reported that he was in contact with the commander and that the latter agreed with Samsonov that troops did not need to be assigned to establish order. Samsonov also stated that he would do nothing without an order. Nikolskiy replied that the

order would come. About 20 minutes later, at approximately 20:00, Yazov telephoned Samsonov and asked him about the situation. Comrade Yazov told him to establish and maintain contact with republic leadership but not to allocate troops without his order. Comrade Nikolskiy telephoned a third time, at approximately 20:30, and asked whether I had received the order."

B. Nikolskiy said that this notation was "incorrect." He said that no one had telephoned Yazov. He recalled, however that "there had been such a discussion with Rodionov. There was in fact a discussion with Samsonov.... And forces were requested to cover the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers."

A number of explanations provided by members of the Bureau of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee contain information to the effect that the show of military equipment and military might on the streets of Tbilisi on 8 April were the idea of Boris Nikolskiy. He himself called these statements "a ruse," however. According to him, he did not have the authority to make such decisions. But this was not a matter of a decision but of the idea of applying psychological pressure on the city.

Incidentally, a demonstration of military equipment took place at that time also in a number of Baltic cities—Riga, Tallin, Pyarnu.... We asked Defense Minister D. Yazov what he thought of this. He replied that this was "by way of preparing for an exercise" and he "did not consider it to be intimidation of the comrades from the Baltic republics." Dmitriy Timofeyevich did explain at that point that the combat equipment on the streets and squares of peaceful cities that day were "obviously a certain reaction" to the picketing of the headquarters of the Baltic Military District. With respect to Gen Rodionov's actions in Tbilisi, Yazov explained: "...there are actions which are taken for the sake of something positive, something good...." He then added: "Rodionov is not a novice in the stadium who needs a slap in the face every time. Rodionov commanded the army in Afghanistan 2 years. I was in his army once. I know what a courageous and mature person he is."

The following is from a leaflet passed out by the military at the 2nd Congress of People's Deputies prior to the commission's report:

"Demand the truth about Tbilisi! There were no stabbed, hacked or battered wounds on a single body of those who died in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989! The horror stories about bloody shovels were fabricated. By whom and for what? Demand the truth!"

We specially requested the documents from the pertinent law-enforcement agencies and established with absolute certainty that not a single crime, not a single murder or rape on an inter-ethnic basis or related to the army occurred in Tbilisi prior to 9 April. The results of the tragedy are well known. But if even a single soldier operating in Tbilisi or making such decisions had been punished...! What is more, Gen Rodionov received a

promotion. And what about Kochetov and Yefimov and even Baklanov, regimental commander, who used unauthorized chemical agents and CS gas—not one of them received any kind of punishment....

Here is another segment of our commission's work: A discussion with K.A. Kochetov:

When did you learn about the use of entrenching tools? When was it reported to you that during the dislodgement operations—whether in self-defense or otherwise—entrenching tools were used?

Kochetov: The subject of the use of entrenching tools came up on the 9th at the Central Committee Bureau. Members of the Central Committee Bureau raised the issue that entrenching tools seemed to have been used. The nature of all the wounds, however, indicates that the company, as you explain it, was permitted to use these entrenching tools only for protection. It had no gear.

Are we to understand that the commanders did not report to you on the use of entrenching tools?

Kochetov: Yes. This is the soldier's personal, standard gear. The soldiers use it for performing engineer jobs. In this case it could be used for self-defense.

Konstantin Alekseyevich, are you still convinced that the entrenching tools were not used—in any case, not for inflicting blows?

Kochetov: A study of the wounds of those who died, 16 people, has shown that there were no stabbing or jagged wound.

But there were many wounded people who came in with slash wounds. Not killed, but wounded.

Kochetov: Perhaps there were individual cases.

Question to O.G. Gasenko: Oleg Georgiyevich, how many people had this kind of wounds?

Gasenko: Twenty-four.

Question to Kochetov: Did you or some other military chief conduct an investigation into the use of entrenching tools?

Kochetov: The Judge Advocate's Office did

Only the Judge Advocate's Office? But you yourself did not make such an investigation?

Kochetov: I myself did not conduct such an investigation.

When did you learn that gas had been used?

Kochetov: I did not even suspect that gas was used. The plan did not call for this. The matter was not brought up. We learned about it probably on the third day. And once again, we learned about it not from the agencies who used it but from the community through the Central Committee Bureau

...Now, after events have rumbled into Baku, references continue to be made to the "Tbilisi syndrome." They can be heard in the speeches of a number of generals and in an interview with Defense Minister Yazov published in *Pravitelstvenny Vestnik*. The question is being asked: Why were the troops delayed and brought into Baku only after the slaughter of the Armenians had been completed? It is explained that the delay was due to the fear of the forces to intervene, so to speak, in the conflict. Otherwise, they, the forces, could have been accused once again of violating the law and of being sent to Baku as a police force.

The attempt to use the "Tbilisi syndrome" as an excuse is groundless and extremely dangerous politically. It is a cunning attempt not only to evade responsibility for what was permitted to occur in Baku, but also retroactively to get rid of accusations pertaining to Tbilisi.... I believe that this position best describes the reliance of certain military people on cruel and inglorious conduct during such events. It illustrates better than anything else the fact that our military people have still not grasped the elementary difference between combat actions against an enemy and against our own population.

The word "conspiracy" was heard in Ligachev's speech at the February plenum. The reference was to some sort of a conspiracy against the party, against its highest leaders.... I would like to especially stress this word, but we still must get to the bottom of the matter of precisely who issued the soldiers the order for them to take action in one situation and remain idle in another. In my opinion, all of this demands the establishment of a parliamentary commission to investigate the events pertaining to the declaration of the emergency in Baku and Dushanbe. The work of commissions, even the most prestigious, means little, however, if the people do not understand us, if in the end the guilty parties continue to feel no guilt. In this case, unfortunately, we have no guarantee that there will not be a new Tbilisi or Baku. And this is extraordinarily dangerous.

Georgian Informals Decry Meskhetian Claims

90US0765B Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZH in Russian
16 Mar 90 p 4

["Appeal to the Georgian People" by Georgian informals: the Helsinki Alliance of Georgians, Society of Saint Elijah the Righteous, and the Party of National Independence]

[Text] In recent times, a group of citizens calling themselves "Soviet Turks" has made frequent appeals to the Georgian people, demanding assistance in their struggle for the return of their "native land." They consider this native land the present Meskheta. They do not consider it Georgia, nor themselves Georgians.

We, representatives of the national-liberation movement of Georgia and members of the Main Committee for the

National Salvation of Georgia, declare with full responsibility the following: We do not know and do not recognize such an ethnic group as the so-called "Soviet Turks."

Over the course of centuries-old aggression, Turkey tore away from Georgia her historical land of Meskhethi, or Samtskhe-Saatabago, assimilated a great portion of its population, took away the religion of its ancestors and thrust Islam on it, at the same time settling the territory with ethnic Turks, a fact we consider a direct result and continuation of Turkish aggression.

Its annexation by Tsarist Russia in the 19th century, followed by Soviet annexation in the 20th century, facilitated consolidation of the Turkish element in this region, an even greater alienation of the Turkified population from everything Georgian, and its mixing with the Turkish population. As a result, the Islamic faith was strengthened to a still greater degree; the absence of Georgian schools and compulsory opening of Turkish ones was conclusive in tearing the region away from the Georgian language. The Turkified population of Meskhethi was pitted against the Georgian population and an enmity flared up between them providing the cause of many bloody tragedies. Today this Turkish and Turkified population, which in 1944 was deported to Central Asia, does not consider itself Georgian (with a small exception), but considers its native land to be Meskhethi, mistakenly attributing it to Turkey's historical possessions, and therefore desires to establish there an autonomy of "Meskhethian Turks."

We consider all of this to be the joint effect of Turkish-Soviet aggression and the direct continuation of such aggression today. We therefore categorically declare the following:

1. Claims presented by the Turkish and Turkified population which was deported from Meskhethi in 1944 to the territory of southern Georgia or present Meskhethi are entirely illegitimate; they contradict the interests of the Georgian people and of Georgia, since the historical native land of this population is Turkey, and not Georgia. We denounce the absurd terms "Meskhethian Turk" and "Soviet Turk," and consider these the creation of Russian Soviet imperialism and bearers of anti-Georgian import. There are no "Meskhethian Turks," just like there are no "Burgundian Chinese." Meskhethi is a part of Georgia, not of Turkey. Only a Georgian can be a Meskhethian—not a representative of another nationality. Therefore, those Turks who call themselves Meskhethians are impostors who are promoting the unfriendly and malicious aims of appropriating the land of others. And to those who, through their ignorance, do not distinguish religion from nationality, it must be explained that Islam does not absolutely denote Turkish ethnic affiliation, that there exists the concept of Islamic Georgians.

2. The Georgian people will henceforth not allow settlement in Georgia of a single ethnic Turk or citizen having

a Turkish national consciousness. Moreover, they will struggle to effect repatriation of such individuals to Turkey.

3. There are, among the mass of those deported, individual citizens who are in fact Georgians, who are aware of their Georgian heritage and possess a Georgian national self-consciousness, who know the Georgian language, and of whom some have had restored in their passports Georgian nationality and Georgian surnames. When the independence of Georgia is restored and the status of Georgian citizen is introduced, such persons will receive Georgian citizenship upon expiration of a certain period of time and following accomplishment of appropriate procedures. But until such time as independent statehood is reestablished, we do not have the status of citizen of Georgia. While we remain in such a highly crucial demographic situation, while we are faced with such a critical problem as settling Svans and Adzhars, members of the Georgian population who have no home, while the demand of Georgians scattered across various corners of the Soviet Union to return to Georgia is not satisfied—we consider it impossible to resettle into Georgia even those so-called Meskhethians who have Georgian orientation (all the more so in view of the fact that several hundred families who settled in Georgia from 1977 through to the present day have been satisfied, though the majority of them exhibit no Georgian orientation and no signs of Georgian ethnicity).

The Fergana tragedy has shaken Georgia just as it has the entire civilized world. It was inspired by the most evil enemies of Georgia in order to exacerbate an already critical demographic situation here, to again give rise to bloodshed, and introduce an emergency situation. Georgia must render humanitarian assistance to the Fergana population which has suffered from the bloodshed, must provide moral sympathy and consideration wherever this has taken place—and all such measures must be taken on an urgent basis. But not a single victim can be returned to Georgia since this would entail resettlement of an entire mass of population.

The Committee for the National Salvation of Georgia appeals to the Georgian leadership:

1. To undertake urgent measures for organizing regular humanitarian and medical assistance for the victims of the Fergana tragedy, and establish a committee appropriate to this end to which Georgian society will provide assistance.

2. To establish groups of representatives of society to conduct cultural enlightenment work among Meskhethians and explain to them their ethnic essence; to publish appropriate pamphlets for popular distribution dealing with the historical and ethnic associations of genuine Meskhethians, who will shed light on these matters.

3. To undertake urgent measures to suspend the demographic expansion of representatives of other nationalities and effect repatriation, first and foremost of citizens of Georgian ethnicity.

4. To present before the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs the question of repatriating to Turkey ethnic Turks and citizens having a Turkish national self-consciousness.

5. To prohibit the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic State Labor Committee and the so-called "Commission of Meskhs" from interfering in matters of resettling deported Turks to Georgia.

[signed] Helsinki Alliance of Georgians,

Society of Saint Elijah the Righteous,

Party of National Independence.

Adopted and approved at a mass meeting held in Tbilisi 25 February 1990.

Special Commission Investigates Civil Disturbances In Dushanbe

90US0729A Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 14 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by S. Mikhtodzhev, chairman of the special commission: "From The Special Commission"]

[Text] As is already known, a special commission has been created by a decree of the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet to investigate the causes of the tragic events of 12, 13, 14 February of this year in the city of Dushanbe. I want to remind you that representatives of the working class, the collective farm peasantry, the scientific and creative intelligentsia and also experienced doctors, lawyers, workers from the procurator's office and students were included in the commission. Meeting the numerous requests from city workers, the decree additionally included in the commission V.A. Giro and Yu.B. Iskhaki, USSR people's deputies from our republic.

The commission has begun work and in close interaction with the people is conducting an investigation of the facts, thoroughly studying the causes which promoted the tragedy in our capital which was felt with pain and grief in the hearts of workers in the republic. At commission conferences reports have already been heard from the leaders of various ministries and departments, state committees, enterprises and institutions, law enforcement organs and the mass media. Commission members have already completed much work on determining the number of dead and wounded. The level of material damage caused to the economy has been clarified and the essence of the rumors concerning Armenian refugees has been identified.

We are still faced with clarifying and additionally investigating a broad range of questions, each incident of organized assault, arson and death. Finally, the commission will still have to summarize everything that took place and give these events a political evaluation.

For the purpose of broadening the scope of objective information pertaining to the events and increasing the effectiveness of our work, the commission once again turns to the inhabitants of the city of Dushanbe and to all citizens of the republic with an earnest request to report orally or in writing to the commission any facts which might promote a deeper and more objective investigation of the circumstances which we are studying.

The commission works in the building of the Presidium of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet. Reception hours are from 1000 to 1900. Our telephone number is 22-30-95.

Tajik Skilled Workers Leaving Republic

90US0729B Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 15 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA correspondent S. Mirzorakhmatov: "The Drain of Workers and Specialists Who Plan To Move Out Of The Republic Must Be Stopped"]

[Text] The history of one of the oldest industrial enterprises, a transformer plant, without exaggeration can be viewed as the history of the formation of the city of Kurgan-Tyube. As a plant for repairing agricultural machines, it was built using the "Vakhshstroy" repair shops in the beginning of the 1930's. At the beginning of the 1960's the plant had to change its profile completely and switch to the manufacture of transformers. The international collective, educated in the worthy traditions of the Vakhshstroy workers, completed this task in brilliant fashion and, what's more, in a very short time. There are quite a few worker dynasties at the plant whose overall length of service began in the pre-war years and numbers 120-160 years.

I often have had the opportunity to write about the worthy activities of this enterprise and each time I become convinced that the work itself at the plant is a school of internationalism, of an education in the wonderful traditions of the first builders of the Vakhshskaya valley. And then this fact causes one to reflect: at the plant there is a drain of highly qualified workers who are moving out of the republic.

I'm talking with Tolibdzhon Khakimov, secretary of the plant's party organization.

Today Eduard Madzhidov, a metal worker and tool-maker, is putting in his last work day. He has everything ready for his departure to the city of Izobilnyy in the Stavropolskiy kray.

He's leaving without any concern since he has in hand a written guarantee from one of the industrial enterprises of the city. He is one of those specialists for which there is a demand everywhere. Personally, I'm sorry to see him go. I'm not the only one that's sorry; all the guys at work share that feeling. After all, he grew up in Kurgan-Tyube where he's lived since 1949. He explained his motivation for leaving by saying that his wife cannot put up with the

hot climate. Maybe, that's true. But if that were the only reason... During the second half of February, 12 individuals left the plant due to a move

I didn't begin our conversation with the example of Madzhidov by chance. The tool-making shop where he worked is the foundation of the plant. The entire technological cycle begins there. They make stamps here and press-molds. And therefore, the absence of even one experienced worker influences the rhythm of the entire production process.

In order to demonstrate the situation more vividly I will cite one more example. Several automatic lathes which produce detail parts work in the machine shop. An experienced adjuster is needed to maintain the work rhythm. There was such a specialist in the shop, Sergey Falshin, but he quit recently. Now the lathes are often out of order. As a consequence, there are interruptions in the supply of assembly details for other shops.

Rumors, as we learned during the February events in Dushanbe, act with lightning speed. It's much more difficult to convince people that the rumors are not true. During the first ten days following 12 February conversations with the workers were conducted regularly during shift changes at the entrance to the plant. The rumors were denied and people were called on to remain calm. But each time I felt that many were listening with distrust. And I could understand them. In the press and on radio and television they were saying one thing but in the city people heard from a variety of witnesses about the cruel pogroms, murders and violence.

Our job is not to allow the drain to continue. Even without the drain the plant is in a difficult economic situation. A shortage of highly qualified specialists could have very serious consequences. But it isn't easy to accomplish that objective. It is already useless to attempt to dissuade those who have decided to move. About 15 individuals, mainly experienced professionals, took leave and went to different cities to look for work.

Yes, the events in the capital shook people up. Many now have a lack of confidence in the future. I think that with time people should relax and thoughts about moving undoubtedly will disappear. And besides, an absolute majority of the workers who are not part of the native population are people who were born here or who came here as children together with their parents. When they grew up, they followed the example of their fathers and mothers and came to the plant. Is it that easy for them to change their place of residence so unexpectedly? That is what concerns us most of all.

Here is what A. Soliyev, head of the department on labor and social development of the Kurgan-Tyube obls-polkom had to say

Unfortunately, the transformer plant is not the only enterprise where we have seen a drain of workers from the nonnative segment of the population. In the days of the dramatic events in Dushanbe people literally laid

siege to the employment office. They requested to be given the opportunity to leave the republic. Unemployment office workers received visitors until 2100. During the second half of February 535 applications were registered. People are asking for assistance to move to the Orlovskaya, Kurskaya, Kalininskaya, Yaroslavskaya, Kostromskaya and other oblasts of the Russian Federation.

We had an agreement with the Kalininskaya oblast regarding collaboration on resolving economic and social problems. Within the framework of this agreement 10-15 families are sent there every year to reside permanently. This year several rayons in Kalinin should accept 24 families who upon their arrival will be provided housing. Meeting the mass appeals from citizens, we have sent our officials to Yaroslavl, Kostroma and Orel. But they have returned empty-handed for the time being.

The majority of those who have submitted requests to leave are people with very necessary specialties. These include engineer-economists, aviation mechanics, metal worker repairmen, welders, pharmacists. The list could be continued. If a massive drain occurs, many industrial enterprises and construction organizations will find themselves in a difficult situation. Somebody might contradict me and say that in the Kurgan-Tyubinskaya oblast, as in other regions of the republic, there is an excess of labor resources. It would be easy, they might say, to fill the vacancies. That, to put it mildly, is not competent reasoning. Yes, with each year our labor resources are increasing. We talk a lot about creating new jobs. But how do you explain this paradoxical fact? Just in the construction organizations of Kurgan-Tyube there is a shortage of approximately 600 workers. This is one of the main reasons that the construction complex of industries chronically lags behind. Despite the rapid growth of labor resources a constant shortage of highly qualified workers is also felt at the "50th Anniversary of the USSR" sewing factory. There are other examples as well.

In short, I see the only solution in calming the people who were so agitated. We need to intensify the explanatory work, guarantee adequate law and order and put a stop to rumors in a timely manner.

Uzbek Officials, Meskhetian Turks Meet on Ethnic Conflict Issues

Meeting Summarized

90US07034 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
27 Feb 90 p 1

[UzTAG report: "To Live in Peace and Friendship"]

[Text] A joint session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, in which representatives of the Meskhetian Turks participated, was held on 26 February

The meeting participants examined the facts in disputed situations and discussed urgent measures to stabilize the situation in places where the Meskhetian Turks live compactly. It was pointed out that the indigenous population had accepted the Meskhetian Turks, who had been illegally and groundlessly resettled from their historic motherland, cheerfully and kindly. For more than 45 years, they had lived and worked in the republic as equals among equals. The destabilization of the situation in areas where the Meskhetian Turks live compactly have been caused by social and economic problems, which had accumulated and which had not been solved for a long time, and also by the illegal actions of corrupt and criminal elements who are trying to arouse interethnic dissension in order to achieve their own mercenary goals.

In order to stabilize the situation for these people, it is necessary to take very decisive steps in accordance with the law, perform purposeful ideological work, consolidate all wholesome forces, and strengthen friendship and mutual understanding between the different nationalities among the republic's inhabitants.

I. A. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, spoke during the joint session.

The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers adopted a joint decree on the matter discussed.

An appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet was adopted.

Appeal to USSR Supreme Soviet for Action

90US0703B PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
27 Feb 90 p 1

[Appeal of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers to the USSR Supreme Soviet, date not given]

[Text] The entire Soviet public knows that the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a declaration in which the practice of forced resettlement of entire peoples is condemned and their return to the site of their historic home is recognized as the key stage in eliminating the consequences of Stalinism. The Crimean Tartars, Meskhetian Turks and other peoples, who innocently suffered, received this decision with ardent approval and thanks. The desire for a very rapid implementation of the measures outlined by the USSR Supreme Soviet with regard to the resettled peoples has strengthened their departure sentiments.

Making use of this, destructive forces, in pursuing their own political purposes and not wishing to pay attention to the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet is examining and solving questions concerning the preparations for organizing the departure of citizens, are trying to create a situation of intolerance around the work being performed. By such actions, they are inciting the population to clashes on an interethnic basis and are destabilizing the social and political situation in the republic.

The events during June 1989 in Fergana Oblast with their human victims and the disturbances of 19-24 February 1990 in a number of rayons in Tashkent Oblast, where the death of people did not result only because extreme measures were adopted, were manifestations of this interethnic conflict. At the present time, the republic is doing everything to prevent interethnic tensions and conflicts based on these.

Noting that the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on the Meskhetian Turk Population's Problems has not received the necessary development, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers earnestly requests the USSR Supreme Soviet to intensify its work and regularly inform them about the measures being adopted to satisfy the age-old desire of the Meskhetian Turks to return to the land of their ancestors.

The solving of this people's vitally important problems in the shortest possible time would permit the restoration of justice to them and the stabilization of the very acute social and political situation in Uzbekistan and would prevent a repetition of the tragic events that occurred in individual rayons of our country and the republic.

M. Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

M. Mirkasymov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

UzTAG Press Agency Commentary

90US0703C Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
27 Feb 90 p 1

["UzTAG Commentary"]

[Text] People of different nationalities have lived for decades in Uzbekistan. This has never prevented them from working shoulder to shoulder and sharing their happiness and adversities. The Meskhetian Turks were no exception. During a difficult time for them, the Uzbek people accepted them as brothers and helped them as much as they could. Now, however, when rapid revolutionary changes are occurring in the country and the democratization of society is taking place not in words but in deeds, there are evil forces, who are destabilizing the situation to benefit their personal ambitions and trying to incite people of different nationalities to confrontation and sow fear and doubts.

All society's wholesome forces should express a resolute "No!" to the intrigues of the extremists. Only together, by respecting and understanding each other, can we solve the social and economic problems that have accumulated for decades and make our republic and the life of each person in it a happy and abundant one.

The mass exodus of the Meskhetian Turks will not bring happiness and prosperity to the Uzbek people. One cannot forget that over the course of the 45 years,

families have been formed where the mother is a Turk and the father is an Uzbek and vice-versa. Children have been born into these families. Who can raise a hand to break these family ties!?

Let us learn forbearance. Let the USSR Supreme Soviet calmly and attentively work on the proposal of the Commission of the Meskhetian Turk Population's Problems and adopt a concrete decree. It seems that quite a little bit more time will pass until those, who wish, will be able to leave quietly for their historic homeland. The

republic's government will undoubtedly do everything so that they do not suffer material loss.

As is known, Uzbekistan is today taking very serious steps to prevent discrimination against people based on national affiliation. It is necessary to give a very decisive rebuff to the unbridled, extremist attuned and unscrupulous elements. We will not allow our youth to thoughtlessly join their cause. Let us unite our efforts in the struggle for restructuring!

History of South Azerbaijan's Relations With Iran Reviewed

90US0772A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY in Russian
24 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Shovket-khanum Tagiyeva, by E. Abaskuliyeva: "Our Interviews: History of One Border"]

[Text] The events on the Soviet-Iranian border have evoked among the residents of our republic and throughout the country an interest in the problem of a separate Azerbaijani nation. This tragedy has, unfortunately, proved to be yet another "unexplored area" in the history of the Azerbaijani state system. As is demonstrated by life, the problem needs broader illumination, a correct treatment, and an analysis from positions of the new mode of political thought.

A BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY correspondent met with Shovket-khanum Tagiyeva, a department head at the South Azerbaijan Institute of Eastern Studies, AzSSR Academy of Sciences, doctor of historical sciences, and asked her to familiarize our readers not only with the history of the question, but also with today's situation in South Azerbaijan.

[Sh. Tagiyeva] Unfortunately, by frequently forgetting our history, we have become like little children who do not remember who their parents are. Lacking a knowledge of our past, we have even less of an interest in anyone else's. Therefore for many people in the country it was like a bolt out of the blue to learn that the USSR State Border divided the Azerbaijani nation into two parts.

Of course, there is a definite amount of scientific literature, and specialists know about it, but it must be admitted that the broad masses of the readers do not know much about this problem. Our South Azerbaijan Department at the Institute of Eastern Studies, AzSSR Academy of Sciences, prepares definite materials, but unfortunately, the printing runs at the academy are miserly. For example, the study "Istoriya Yuzhnogo Azerbaydzhana 1828-1917 gg." [History of South Azerbaijan, 1828-1917] that was published in 1985 had a printing run of only 2200 copies. At the present time a continuation of that study, which encompasses the period from 1917 to the present time, is being prepared.

Even if one assumes that many people know from history textbooks that, according to the terms of the 1828 Turkmanchay Peace Treaty, part of Azerbaijan was ceded to Russia, only a very few persons know the further fate of the Azerbaijani nation that remained on the territory of Iran.

When speaking about the development of South Azerbaijan as part of feudal Iran, I shall not make any parallel with the development of North Azerbaijan. We are all very familiar with the path taken by the latter. It must be said first of all that South Azerbaijan played no small role both in the cultural and economic development and in the political development of feudal Iran. Iran itself, by

the end of the last century, was in the transitional stage between feudalism and capitalism. New economic-trade and cultural centers were appearing, and a special role was played by the city of Tabriz, the capital of South Azerbaijan. At that time, that city was a trade, cultural, and even political center of Iran, through which intensive contacts were made with its northern neighbor.

[E. Abaskuliyeva] Shovket-khanum, how do you explain the very important place that South Azerbaijan occupies in Iran's political situation? Because it frequently became a center of the revolutionary struggle.

[Sh. Tagiyeva] I think that a rather large role in this was played by the ties with North Azerbaijan that traditionally existed in the trade and cultural-economic spheres. Ties of ethnic kinship existed until the 1920's. Many persons who left South Azerbaijan worked at the Baku oil fields and also eked out a living as seasonal agricultural workers. Naturally, they did not remain outside the revolutionary struggle waged by the Baku proletariat.

During those years, despite everyone's understanding that South Azerbaijan was a part of Iran, most Azerbaijanis did not have any sense that their nation was divided. The Bolsheviks of Azerbaijan, with weapons in their hands, fought during the 1905-1911 Iranian revolution on the barricades of Tabriz. Material assistance was also provided to the insurgents by Baku millionaires—G. Z. Tagiyev and M. Nagiyev. There were also reciprocal ties in educational activities.

In 1925 the Pahlevi dynasty came to power, replacing the Turkic dynasties. There was a fundamental change in the status of South Azerbaijan as part of the Iranian state. A cruel policy of assimilation began. The Azeri language was officially banned, and instruction in the schools was conducted exclusively in the Persian language. The publication of newspapers in Azeri was discontinued and all ties with Soviet Azerbaijan were broken. All steps were taken to discriminate both culturally and economically.

Pan-Iranism, which became the basis of the domestic policy of the Pahlevi shahs, did not want to take into consideration the interests of the other nationalities. Obstacles to the socioeconomic, cultural, and political development of South Azerbaijan were deliberately erected. A consequence of this attitude was the new administrative division of Iran in 1937. As a result, most of the territory of South Azerbaijan was included in two "ostans" (provinces)—East and West—and the rest was annexed to other administrative units in Iran.

[E. Abaskuliyeva] At the same time, it is well known that the nation of South Azerbaijan did not reconcile itself to this fate and rose up periodically to defend its national rights. Could you discuss in greater detail the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic, which, even though it did not last long, left a noticeable trail in the history of our nation?

[Sh. Tagiyeva] The 1945-1946 movement is one of the brightest periods in the history of the struggle waged by

the nation of South Azerbaijan for its democratic and national rights. In the course of the struggle waged by the masses of the people, the Azerbaijani Democratic Party was created. The Fedayeen, as the armed insurgents who came from the people called themselves, took the power in their hands. On 12 December 1945 the national Majlis was elected. It announced the formation of a national government headed by Seid Dzhafer Pishevari, whose name, incidentally, was given to a street in Baku.

During the year of existence of the Democratic Republic, much was accomplished. The government carried out major reforms. Education and culture received broad development, the Azeri language was elevated to the rank of a state language, and the ties with Soviet Azerbaijan, which had been enlivened after the entry of Soviet troops into Iran in 1941, again received development. Need one say what a revolutionizing role these events played for Iran as a whole? A treaty was even signed between Iran and the national government. However, not even a half-year passed when, in November 1946, the Iranian government, breaking the previously concluded treaty, sent its own troops there—first to Zendzhan and other areas. Later on, despite the fact that the Azerbaijani democratic government had issued an order to cease resistance, on 12 December 1946 the Iranian troops entered and carried out cruel drumhead justice, in the course of which more than 20,000 persons died.

[E. Abaskuliyeva] Shovket-khanum, now, almost a half-century later, one can certainly see clearly the true causes of the defeat of the 1945-1946 movement. What do you consider them to be?

[Sh. Tagiyeva] Naturally, there is not just one cause. First of all, they include the lack of any popular-democratic movement in the rest of Iran. And although the progressive forces in Iran sympathized with the Azerbaijani democratic movement, at that time there was not yet any single democratic front for combatting the reactionary forces. The second reason is no less important—the influence exerted by the imperialistic circles of the United States and Great Britain upon Iran, circles that incited Iran to apply military pressure to the democratic forces in South Azerbaijan and Iranian Kurdistan. That is how it had been in 1920, and that is what also happened in the mid-1940's.

But there is still another reason that it was not generally acceptable to mention in our press. As historians know, the people's-liberation movement in South Azerbaijan was sacrificed to the Iranian government of that time, which, in exchange for the stifling of democracy, proposed to Stalin the joint Soviet-Iranian exploitation of the northern petroleum deposits in Iran. Incidentally, a session of the Iranian Majlis that was held in 1947 did not accept that proposal. The sacrifices that had been made to carry out this political trick proved to be in vain.

[E. Abaskuliyeva] What policy was carried out with respect to the Azerbaijanis by the Iranian government after the 1979 revolution?

[Sh. Tagiyeva] I want to say immediately that the Azerbaijanis took the most active part in the 1978-1979 antishah and anti-imperialistic revolution. As is well known, the first major demonstrations began in Tabriz in February 1978, and although they were suppressed, the first blow against the shah's regime was nevertheless struck there. The anti-imperialistic, antimonarchistic nature of that blow played no small role in the nationwide revolutionary movement that encompassed all of Iran and that led to the victory of the revolution. In the struggle for that victory, 25,000 Azerbaijanis perished.

The new forces that came to power announced the democratic freedoms and the equal rights of all the nations and nationalities in the country. In late 1979 a new constitution was adopted on the basis of a general referendum.

With the victory of the revolution, the South Azerbaijanis experienced a new blossoming of culture. Magazines, newspapers, and books in Azeri appeared. Societies of poets and writers were formed in Tabriz and Teheran, where a considerable segment of the population consisted of Azerbaijanis. New political parties were created, including completely Azerbaijani parties in South Azerbaijan as the Azerbaijani Organization of the People's Party of Iran, and the Republican Party of the Muslim Nation of Iran. The last-mentioned party enjoyed special popularity.

But, having succeeded, during the period of preparing the revolution, in attracting most of the population to themselves, the clergy then stopped playing the democracy game. They forgot their previous promises and changed over to the open suppression of democratic movements. On 5-6 December 1979 the East and West ostans declared themselves to be the Azerbaijani Islamic Republic, after which that uprising was suppressed by the custodians of the Islamic revolution. All the leftist political parties were destroyed. Many of their prominent figures were put behind bars. Some of them emigrated as a result of the repressions. All kinds of publishing activity in the Azeri language, with the exception of VARLYK magazine, were discontinued. Naturally, the ties with Soviet Azerbaijan grew considerably weaker.

[E. Abaskuliyeva] Shovket-khanum, in various published items one sees occasional flashes of various figures that attest to the number of Azerbaijanis on the other side of the Araz. How do you explain this and what information is most reliable?

[Sh. Tagiyeva] According to statistical data from IRI [Islamic Republic of Iran], it is possible to state precisely the number of Azerbaijanis in South Azerbaijan only until the year 1956. It was hypothesized at that time that in the East and West ostans and the areas adjacent to them there were 8 million inhabitants. At the present

time, in Teheran alone, the population of which is 8 million, approximately half are Azerbaijanis. According to unofficial information, there are approximately 20 million Azerbaijanis living in all of Iran today.

Tabriz was traditionally one of the country's cultural, industrial, and political centers. The bulk of the population in Iran, including South Azerbaijan, is employed in the agricultural sector.

With respect to the Azerbaijanis—the largest nationality segment after the Iranians—starting in 1987 the government's policy underwent certain reassuring changes. At Tabriz University it was authorized to give lectures in Azeri. Something else that is especially important is that in the summer of 1987 that university restored the seminar to study the Azeri language and culture, the participants at the opening of which included representatives from the IRI Ministry of Culture and the well-known public figure in Iran, Dzhavad Kheyat, who was visiting our republic. I cannot fail to mention also Tabriz Radio, which currently broadcasts ten hours a day in Azeri.

Testimony to the easing up of the policy with respect to the Azerbaijanis is provided by the commemorative measures linked with the 80th anniversary of the birth, and the anniversary of the death, of the great Azerbaijani poet Shakhriyar, which were carried out in a very ceremonious and lavish manner.

[E. Abaskuliyeva] The central media, when discussing the incident on the Soviet-Iranian border, saw in it—as strange as it seems—only the fact of violation of the border between two countries, but did not mention that this involved a nation that had been divided almost two centuries ago...

[Sh. Tagiyeva] I cannot fail to censure the very fact of the violation of the State Border, but I am just as adamant in failing to accept the hushing up of the true causes of the incident on the border. Of course, one can never remake history or its events. One can never modify them to agree with today's views. The dream of reuniting the single nation must definitely take into consideration the historical realities that have developed. But it is at least inhumane to deny the striving by two parts of a single nation to get closer together and to establish contacts and close economic, cultural, and kinship bonds.

One single nation lives, works, and creates on both sides of the Araz. The one nation speaks the same language, and is proud of its great sons—Nizami and Shakhriyar, Babek and Sattarkhan. And these are also realities that must be taken into consideration. Today, when a single European home is being created, when internationalistic processes are developing on an increasingly broad scale throughout the world, not a single nation should be refused the right or the desire to feel that it is a part of mankind as a whole, it is a member of the tremendous community of nations. And even moreso one should not refuse brothers who have been divided by the State Border the striving to seek contacts with one another.

Health Official Discusses Positive Aspects Of Medical Insurance

90US0727A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA
in Russian 22 Mar 90 p 2

Interview with Victor Tyurupa, USSR People's Deputy and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Health Committee by A. Mogilat: "Is Medicine Powerless?"

[Text] What do we have today? An impersonalized system of medicine which has been brought down to the level of the service sphere. We are in last place among developed countries on resources allocated to health care and 152 thousand medical workers live below the poverty level.

Our guest is Viktor Tyurupa, USSR People's Deputy, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Health Committee.

[TRIBUNA] Viktor Aleksandrovich, after learning about the elimination of the 4th Main Directorate of the USSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health], the absolute majority of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA readers began to look to the future with more optimism and I would like to thank you and your fellow deputies for taking a principled and persistent stand.

[TSYURUPA] You are obviously rushing with the congratulations. It's not likely that we will be able to close all the gaps in our medical system with the 180 million rubles that were allocated each year to special medical services. After all, the budget of the 4th directorate only comprised 0.5 percent of the entire health budget. However, obviously it would be ridiculous to doubt the moral and, I would even say, political aspect of this decision.

[TRIBUNA] A few words about the history of privileges. Right now in a number of publications the assertion that privileges are an offshoot of Soviet power is showing up. Allegedly, the special distribution stores became a part of our life at the very beginning of the system.

[TSYURUPA] In those days the entire country was a huge distributor! It was of paramount importance to allocate fairly the few crumbs which the new government inherited. The thing which we are rejecting today came about during the Stalin era. All over the world the labor of the manager class was paid at a higher level than in our country. In those days we decided not to pay but to make up the difference in kind with privileges. In conditions of across-the-board shortages this enflames public opinion. But I think that it has already become impossible to stop the movement towards social justice.

[TRIBUNA] For a long time, while this subject was under lock and key, legends circulated about special hospitals and clinics. Glasnost has helped shed some light on this "white spot" as well. Today you can hear the opinion that they should not be closed but that our entire medical system should be raised to their level since there is nothing supernatural or superunique in them.

[TSYURUPA] I am in absolute agreement with that. The level of medical service (I emphasize medical and professional) which developed in the institutions of the former 4th Main Directorate is far from perfect. That which to us in our poverty seemed outstanding, is merely average and no more than average medical care by international criteria. I would very much hope that everything truly good and useful there is not lost or squandered but that it continues to serve people.

But the important thing is not in sharing this. Experience tells us: it's not enough to throw out the call, "peace to the huts - war to the palaces." We know how that all ended. Our troubles are buried deeper. As long as the medical system exists as if in two dimensions, I have in mind the departmental and territorial medical networks, debates about equal accessibility and equal opportunity are doomed. We will always hear the counterargument that if labor collectives legally have their own clinics or hospitals then what right do we have to deprive the central organs of this? All of these "special" services are a derivative of our departmental medical system; they are part of a whole.

The departmental medical system, in my view, is flawed in principle. A simple example: any enterprise where more than 5 thousand people are assigned to work, gets its own medical unit, not only a clinic with first aid stations in the shops but also a hospital. Naturally, this suits many people as well as the administration which can close its eyes to the ecology and on work safety (the plant causes the injury but then treats it!). Receiving its assigned piece from the overall pie, the enterprise then supplements its with its own deductions.

[TRIBUNA] Perhaps we should acquire additional equipment and stimulate the work of doctors and nurses and show concern about their social welfare? What's wrong with that - it's from our own pocket.

[TSYURUPA] That depends how you define "our own." It always bothered me when the country works according to the principle of the common soup kettle, you have to agree, it's hard to determine accurately whose money went towards the soup.

I think that collective ownership begins with the collective contribution. A personal contribution, if there is one, or in the form of some kind of loans or credits which finally have to be returned. But this arrangement never existed. There was the common kettle from which some people got more, some less and some figured out a way to steal more for themselves at the expense of their neighbor...And now with a little piece of that it wouldn't be bad to acquire a lease or even better, to become a collective owner.

It is hardly possible to accept as socially just the situation when the departmental medical unit, even if it belongs to a plant, flourishes while next to it the rayon hospital ekes out a miserable existence. Examples similar to this, alas, are not a rarity. However, strange as it may seem, public passions have not become enflamed over this. I see one

of the roots of this tunnel vision in the fact that many plants, especially the large ones, are not aware of the real situation in the national medical care industry.

I am convinced that health and medical care are the prerogative of the state, its most important social function. Namely, the prerogative of the state. These questions should not be farmed out to departments, no matter what kind. Health concerns are a different matter altogether. That includes preventive medicine and ecology...In a word, the list is long. For the departments to be stingy on these needs would be a sin. This is what any plant could really get involved in. But let the territorial medical care system take care of medical problems. In general, I am deeply convinced that it is necessary to radically revamp the entire structure of our system of medical care.

[TRIBUNA] However, there was a time, as far as I know, when the Soviet system of medical care was recognized by the World Health Organization as the most perfect. Or did that come from the arsenal of those infamous "red herrings" from the period of stagnation?

[TSYURUPA] In fact, the World Health Organization did recommend our system for a rather long time as a model for national medical care systems. According to our model, you can raise health care to a certain level from ground zero. This is its achievement. But as experience has shown, it is impossible to move further. Our pharmaceutical industry is one of the most backward in the world. More than 300 thousand families of doctors are waiting for housing. Almost one-fourth of our hospitals do not have sewage systems and 15 percent do not have running water. Relying on our own efforts we are not able to satisfy even a half of our medicinal requirements.

[TRIBUNA] I understand; regional, departmental and group egoism, capable of reducing all progressive impulses to nothing. Viktor Aleksandrovich, you spoke about this in some detail (RT, 8 February), commenting on the report regarding the serious shortage of medicines which in the final analysis is caused by a lack of raw materials. But really, can it be possible that we won't be able to correct the situation in the near future?

[TSYURUPA] Let's not give in to illusions regarding the near future. We neglected the ecology for so long that if we take everything into consideration, there are reasons to close factories and there are those who must answer for what has happened. Our predecessors, deputies of the previous convocation, also tried to solve this problem: when economic accountability cleaned out inexpensive medicines from the pharmacies. It would seem that striving to avoid a detailed government order and accountability down to a single screw is a progressive step. But the resulting consequences were disastrous! It wasn't without difficulty that we were able to convince the planning organs to equate the manufacture of medical products with the category of vitally necessary goods and to give them the same priority. But it didn't work

out with raw materials since there is no way you can categorize them with consumer goods...

It is time to finally understand that there are some branches of production which would be inadmissible to evaluate in such a mercantile way. It is constantly necessary to remind Minfin [Ministry of Finance] and Gosplan [State Planning Committee] about this. Nonetheless, it is difficult to find like-minded individuals since orders for medicine in the majority of cases are labor intensive but not promising from the point of view of profitability.

As a result, when the fate of the plan and budget was being decided, we were forced to insist that the nomenclature of the medical products be listed not only in rubles but also according to categories and names from the beginning to the end. Because of the position taken by the enterprises in this matter, we were forced to return to the same methods of coercion which society is trying to leave behind. Yes, we acted like conservatives. I understand, by doing this we were putting a spoke in the wheel of economic reform. But what would you have us do? Indulge them in undisciplined selfish greed? That is ruled out. Medicine is not a field where there is room for adventurism and initiative on the chance that a profit can be made. The stakes are too high.

[TRIBUNA] But you won't get far using the old approaches.

[TSYURUPA] Right now it is an emergency measure. I'll remind you. In the developed countries medicines are considered to be the number one product and have priority in everything. The international pharmaceutical industry is second in profits only to the military-industrial complex. We essentially do not even have one. That is why our committee has raised the question of the creation of a modern medical industry. What we have today are its fragments, pieces, disconnected departmental elements. It seems that everybody is involved in the apparatus. More exactly, there are dozens of ministries and departments. In the field of medicines the same situation exists. There is Minmedprom [Ministry of Medical Industry] and defense enterprises and agricultural industry of the union republics.

This is dilettantism. Large firms are needed which have at their disposal a powerful scientific potential. A single coordinator is needed. Gosplan does not want to take on the responsibility. We are hoping to reach a mutual understanding with the USSR Council of Ministers' Bureau for Social Development. Also, of course, it is extremely important to change our investment policy.

[TRIBUNA] Viktor Aleksandrovich, the question about a system of medical insurance is often raised in letters to the editorial staff. As a rule the context is as follows: the state is not able to provide society with adequate health care and now everything is leading towards a situation in which paying will be required for treatment. If the medical cooperatives are "fleecing" us now, soon it will become part of the system.

[TSYURUPA] I'll mention, by the way, that there are no medical cooperatives anywhere in the world. The fact that they have appeared in our country is a by-product of the overall crisis. As far as a system of medical insurance is concerned, it has been successful in the developed countries and their experience deserves serious study. Recently our committee conducted the first session devoted to this issue.

Of course, it won't be easy for people to psychologically adjust to a system of medical insurance. After all, we immediately took the all or nothing approach: the state is responsible for all the citizens' health concerns and guarantees everything free of charge. Now it seems, it is not a secret for anybody that free medical care is a farce: that its budget consists of our "blood" and our taxes. But we were striving for an ideal situation and it is painful to part with ideals.

[TRIBUNA] Will a system of medical insurance really help solve all the problems at once?

[TSYURUPA] At least that system works. Its main principle is public solidarity: the rich man pays for the poor man and the healthy individual pays for the sick one.

[TRIBUNA] But are you sure that in our current situation we won't have to part with this noble principle as bitterly as with former lofty slogans?

[TSYURUPA] The indisputable advantage of a system of medical insurance is that it protects the patient from the economic situation. Whether the country is advancing or is in a state of crisis, this does not affect the level of medical care. After all, individual taxation has a reversible character.

But individual taxes are not a goal in themselves. This is a purely voluntary matter. The main source of resources, in a system of medical insurance, besides deductions from the state budget, is state insurance at enterprise and in institutions. This is very important to emphasize. If the enterprise puts pressure on the environment, then it will be forced to cough up a considerable amount of money. If you don't think about the consequences, you make sense? In this way we will be able to receive additional resources while maintaining state financial deductions.

Also relevant for us is the fact that the financing of health care is based on a gubernatorial, not on an interregional and territorial basis for that which is possible on a local territory basis. This all fits in very well with economic responsibility with the economic bodies, deny of the territories.

Finally, a system of medical insurance, despite the interests of both the patient and the doctor, introduces something that for us is still unattainable: it forces each person to be concerned about his health and the common work hard at curing illness.

An example: if a person eats too much, smokes, drinks to excess and doesn't exercise, when the individual insurance policy is formulated, he will pay more than the person who lives a normal lifestyle. On the other hand, good health will not only lower the insurance payment but also provide certain benefits, for example, supplements to one's pension.

Another example: we lost the institute for nurses' aids. Why? Because the salary is next to nothing and the attitude of the public corresponds to the salary. We are observing the same thing with nurses. On the horizon we are going to see practical doctors. As surveys among doctors have shown, the main reason for their dissatisfaction is not even salary, which is the number two reason, but the attitude of society towards their work.

A system of medical insurance will solve this problem as well in a differentiating manner compensating work in strict dependence upon results. The insurance purse strings, as a mechanism free from departmental control which is subject to public control, keeps an eye on the quality of medical care and protects the rights of its shareholders. For professional malpractice it will be necessary to answer not only materially in the form of compensation but also by law, all the way to criminal liability.

[TRIBUNA] Judging by the mail received, at the present we patients are essentially deprived of legal defense. Recently Lyubov Ivanovna Sivokho from Leningrad wrote to the editor. In 1983 in the Petrov NII [Scientific Research Institute] for oncology she was subjected to a major gynecological operation...by mistake. They mixed up the analyses. They did not take an express-biopsy on the operating table. So, even though she did not have cancer, the woman became an invalid, lost her job and her husband left her. All these years she has been unsuccessfully seeking justice. Where hasn't she turned to? All around are dead walls.

[TSYURUPA] Yes...You wouldn't wish that on an enemy. Our entire system of medical care is an endless stream of complaints. There is one solution, to place this stream on a legal foundation. I think that we will be able to start the foundations for medical legislation as early as this year. We cannot wait any longer.

[TRIBUNA] Thank you for the conversation. Our talk turned out to be rather grim but I hope it will be useful.

[TSYURUPA] Well, see.

Ministry Of Interior Administration Head Interviewed On Prostitution

By N. S. B. Yeliseyev, SOLETSKY KUTUR
in Moscow, 4 May 1990

Interview with V. I. Gurev, RSFSR People's Deputy and MVD representative chief regarding prostitution in the USSR by correspondent Nadezhda Maydanskaya. "The Evening Moscow" 10.

[Text] "Prostitution - a disgraceful phenomenon in capitalist society. The sale by women of their bodies to obtain resources for survival, conditioned by a lack of civil rights and poverty." That is how the Dictionary of Foreign Words interpreted this concept.

Several years ago the subject of prostitution filled the pages of our newspapers indicating that these "ladies of the night" were hardly something unknown to a socialist way of life. How do we handle this public nuisance? This is a question which concerns millions of people.

Today prostitution has several faces and one of them clearly is connected with organized crime. RSFSR People's Deputy and USSR MVD Directorate Chief Aleksandr Ivanovich Gurov talks about how this union was formed, its sources and predictions for the future.

[GUROV] Prostitution came to the attention of the mafia as early as the beginning of the 1970's when the phenomenon itself was undergoing changes. In place of the street and train station prostitutes we began to see so-called centrals who worked in hotels, restaurants and who serviced as a rule foreigners whose influx into our country has increased in recent years from two to five million.

With the expansion of the prostitutes' field of endeavor there was an increase in competition which forced them to organize into tightly-knit groups where entrance to outsiders was forbidden. If a newcomer came into their territory, he was simply beaten up. A certain structure developed gradually and prostitutes even gathered together for their own congresses at which they discussed current problems, among which was the establishment of fees.

The fee for hard-currency prostitutes (converted to Soviet money) is 100 rubles and up. It can go as high as 1,500 rubles per night. Average prostitutes make from 10 to 200 rubles. The price of train station prostitutes varies in the neighborhood of 10 rubles. (Statistical data here and further on are taken from research conducted by the USSR MVD VNI [All-Union Scientific Research Institute].)

With the regulation of an organizational structure among prostitutes specialization began to take place. The division divided those who serviced representatives of socialist countries or firmachi, as they are called, and representatives of the socialist and the afro-asiatic region. The corresponding languages are studied as well.

Since competition became fiercer and fiercer and the prostitutes were no longer able to organize a profitable business for themselves, pimps began to appear. One pimp for sexual prostitutes on the role. His job consists of organizing them, finding clients, providing a place to work. Since payment to the prostitute is made in hard currency, corresponding specialists were required for its

The prostitution business has grown rapidly and it is perfectly natural that the crime clans which have arisen have taken control of it. The object of the mob became not only shell game operators, pickpockets, Soviet multimillionaires but prostitutes as well. This process was very painful, in the literal sense of the word too, because some of these priestesses of love had their teeth knocked out... But finally practically all were brought to their knees.

[KULTURA] It turns out that the prostitute's "sweet life" with their fabulous income is not at all like it is portrayed in certain publications?

[GUROV] As far as income is concerned, the lion's portion of it doesn't even go towards the prostitute's personal needs which, by the way, are rather considerable. Instead, it goes towards supporting individuals without whom her business is doomed to failure. Here is a sample list of expenditures. After a night of work the prostitute rests for two days and gets ready for the next round. Sauna, massage, makeup... All of this, as you know, is not cheap. Then she comes to the restaurant; tip the doorman, lay some money on the maitre d' and the waiter for the table reservation. Besides pimps, many prostitutes have permanent taxi drivers, hired guards and they all receive corresponding payment. In a number of cases police workers are bribed...

[KULTURA] But still, there is a certain aura around prostitutes, that does exist especially in the consciousness of teenagers.

[GUROV] About a year and a half or two years ago after a number of articles appeared, which essentially popularized prostitution, there was an influx into Moscow of 14, 15, and 16-year old girls from the outlying areas to become "call" girls. They didn't get any further than the Kurskiy and Kazanskiy train stations. They wound up in basements where they were held for a month or two, living with vagrants, contracting syphilis and then ending up in special shelters from which they were sent home.

[KULTURA] I'm afraid that even this won't sober up the provincial candidates for "call" girls.

[GUROV] Yes, at a particular stage, while they are young and healthy, perhaps, they are hoping for something. But practice has shown that the maximum active age of a prostitute is limited to thirty. After thirty some of them provide their services for Africa and Asia but the effects of age become pronounced very rapidly.

70 percent of the hard currency, elite prostitutes are young women under 30 years of age. Of them, 16-17 year olds make up 1.2 percent; 18-19 year olds 12 percent; 20-24 year olds 33 percent and 25-29 year olds 25 percent. Among the street and train station prostitutes 85.5 percent are over 35 years of age. Of these, women who are 40-45 years old make up 41 percent and 51-59 years old 16 percent.

[KULTURA] But you could change professions, not waiting until you are thrown overboard?

[GUROV] That's a rather widespread opinion. Let's enjoy life, they say, make some money to put aside, get married and live happily ever after. Nothing of the kind! If some do get married, they are divorced quickly. Just as any profession leaves its mark, so does prostitution.

There exists the so-called dynamic behavioral stereotype. Take the pickpocket who sincerely wants to lead an honest life. As soon he encounters a certain situation, he slips his hand into a pocket without thinking and only after he pulls out the wallet does he realize that he didn't want to do that. This is a very complex phenomenon. Sometimes we don't understand them and they don't understand us. That prostitute also has become accustomed to a particular way of life which excludes socially useful work. She is used to a certain kind of relationship with men during the course of which her physiology changes. Leaving all this behind is very difficult. Although the majority of these professionals will tell you right now, "Gurov is imagining all this." But after all, they are like alcoholics who, when they sober up, believe they can quit drinking at any time. But they can't because it has already become a disease.

[KULTURA] Every disease has its causes.

[GUROV] Now there is a simplistic approach to this phenomenon that can be observed. Say it's hard for her to afford a pair of boots. But she wants a coat too. So she hits the pavement. But if that example holds true, then if I want to acquire an automobile, I'm supposed to use a pistol? The absurdity of that explanation is obvious. Of course, the economic element does exist and we shouldn't underestimate it but I see the main reason for the spread of prostitution in a demoralization, a corruption of the soul and of social values.

[KULTURA] But prostitution didn't appear today but, apparently, in those days when moral values still were being formed.

[GUROV] True, even in ancient times there were institutions similar to monasteries where priests prepared women for family life. Among other things they were taught sexual skills. And since physiology is physiology and the need has always existed, well-to-do people began to pay for their services.

It's curious that at the end of the last century William Booth, while collecting material for his book, "In the Slums of England," conducted research among prostitutes. It turned out that only 2 percent of the women came to the houses of ill repute out of economic need. The rest came out of interest and an unwillingness to work. Some were subjected to psychological pressure by their partners and others were brought there by force.

When I looked through the reports of the St. Petersburg police, I discovered the same gradation. Material need

occupied one of the last places. I can foresee an objection: but what about Kuprin and Dostoyevskiy? But they are writers and for them a literary, emotional image of life is characteristic. On the other hand, the stingy lines of the police reports demonstrate that a large portion of the prostitutes were from broken families of the merchant class or nobility, people who generally were not accustomed to and who did not know how to work.

The theoretical supposition of Marx and Engels to the effect that with the disappearance of the exploitative type society prostitution would also disappear, alas, has not come true. We have a huge number of problems but, in my opinion, there are no grounds to talk about the exploitation of women. But take the USA, England, France... What, do they exploit women there? Nothing of the sort! Nonetheless, prostitution flourishes there and acquires more and more varied forms. In France, for example, it is not a rarity that completely upstanding housewives look for clients in hotels and, in this manner, earn pocket money. Unfortunately, we have certain symptoms of this phenomenon as well.

Women who perform manual labor make up 26 percent of hard currency prostitutes, office employees 25 percent, students 8.6 percent, unemployed women 38 percent, married women 26 percent while 23 percent have children

In addition, we can't forget about fictitious marriages when the prostitute-wife works under the cover of her pimp-husband. The employment status of the elite prostitutes also does not reflect reality because for many of them their place of work is only a stamp in their service record book.

[KULTURA] The idea occurs that prostitution from the very beginning has been a distinctive characteristic of human interaction. In that case, what use are all our vain attempts to fight it? In addition, the prostitute sells her body and in this way exercises her freedom of choice. If she doesn't recruit minors into this occupation and doesn't violate the peace, which are entirely separate crimes, then the rest of it is her personal business. Isn't that right?

[GUROV] To a certain degree, yes, it is her business. Moreover, one prostitute told me once that they are useful! Foreigners, she said, look for girls anywhere and they will find them and get them drunk. But the prostitutes take the brunt of this onslaught themselves and shield the younger generation. However skeptical you might react to these words, there is an element of truth in them.

But still, it would hardly be correct to view this phenomenon so calmly. After all, the prostitute exists not by herself alone but as a part of society. On the one hand they shield the younger generation from foreign harassment, as they believe, but on the other hand, they continue to involve new people in this occupation. There is a constant reinforcement of the parasitic clan. Yes, parasitic, because the prostitutes' work cannot be considered socially useful.

A second consideration: no matter what precautions they take or how carefully they protect themselves, prostitutes are a source of venereal diseases. Now AIDS has been added to them.

Each year in our country 350 thousand people are infected with venereal diseases.

Furthermore, as was already mentioned, prostitution is a significant category of income for members of organized crime. With the help of prostitutes contacts are established with corrupt elements. Contacts are made with officials with their subsequent corruption. From conversations with criminals and also police operatives it is known that some cooperatives, in particular cooperative cafes, have special rooms which are designed as a place for the prostitutes to meet with a certain clientele. There have been cases when high-ranking individuals or wealthy people are lured there. Everything is photographed and afterwards the photos are shown to the client with the offer to buy them or to perform some kind of service.

And I would like to say one more thing. In the 1970's when I was working in the criminal investigation department in the section dealing with crimes against foreigners, I often had to read collective letters from foreign delegations. They were addressed to the USSR MFD [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] and MFD naturally directed them to the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Their contents were identical and consisted approximately of the following: we visited the Soviet Union, saw your beautiful cities and met understanding and good-neighborliness... However, we were shocked when we were offered girls in exchange for cigarette lighters...

I don't know if the stream of these kind of letters has decreased but prostitution has become even more widespread. We have already begun to export prostitutes. There is information to indicate that they go abroad to sell their wares in Czechoslovakia, the FRG and other countries with tourist passes obtained, of course, through bribes. In Japan booklets are passed around with photographs of our prostitutes and their physical measurements. It is shameful and awful to hear: Soviet prostitute! Russian prostitute! By the way, the foreigners' evaluation of our prostitutes, let them be aware of this, is not high at all. They don't see in them the same kind of woman that they see, let's say, in a Parisian prostitute. Our women for them in bed are animals and it's only for that reason that it's interesting to be with them.

Since 1987 a little more than 5,000 prostitutes have been apprehended and charged with administrative offenses.

[KULTURA] Again I'll turn to the fight against prostitution and note its obvious lack of effectiveness. What is to be done? Open houses of prostitution as some people propose? Or, as others suggest, shoot them, put them in prison, exile them and be done with it?

[GUROV] Alas, the history of the struggle against prostitution eloquently demonstrates the futility of punitive

measures. In ancient times there were very cruel laws: prostitutes were drowned, executed. But nonetheless, they still existed. In the not too distant past attempts were made to eliminate them as a class: they were shot, exiled to camps. And so what? Did the streets empty? It is time to understand that even the cruelest of laws will not root out prostitution. Criminal liability for the involvement of minors is necessary and we have that law. It is also a crime to pimp and to maintain premises for that purpose. It is another matter that these laws do not function.

Out of 57 underage prostitutes, the youngest of which was 13 years old, 25 percent were brought in to the business by adults. These were individuals responsible for their upbringing: parents, stepfathers, coaches. Not one of them was charged with a crime.

There is only one legal measure to take: make the occupation of prostitution economically unprofitable. With the help of fines. Not just 100 and 200 rubles as was established by a decree of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet (in reality, by the way, much less is actually collected), but 1000 or 1500 rubles.

But if we are going to talk seriously about the fight against prostitution, then the first and main condition is the moral reawakening of society. And maybe, there is no need for us to wax eloquently about the education of prostitutes who have already made their choice. You can't reeducate them! It's only possible to restrain them slightly. Now we have to think about how to break this awful chain. We have to think about the generation that is in kindergarten, preschool, the first grade.

[KULTURA] But how do you do that if among the prostitutes arrested during the course of an operation conducted on Gorkiy Street in Moscow you have students from medical, law and pedagogical(!) institutes of higher learning?

[GUROV] One thing is clear. A state-run program is needed which will unite the efforts of the entire society. Will they be successful? And what will be considered to be success after "x" number of years?

Journalist Questions Use of Labor Camp for Treatment of Alcoholism

90US07464 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRUDA in Russian 28 Mar 90 p. 7

[Article by A. Lapin, correspondent: "From the Lives of Heavy Drinkers: A Biased Report"]

[Text] As I approached, the "service roar" of the guard company commander sounded forth as follows: "I'm not allowing any correspondent without a pass into the facility under guard here."

I was amazed: with my press pass I had been admitted even to a cosmodrome.

But the obstacle was overcome. The lock clicked. The fence, the control zone, and the iron grating were left behind. And, accompanied by two broad-shouldered representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, I entered upon the territory of this so very carefully guarded facility—the Alma-Ata LTP [Treatment and Labor Re-educational Facility].

I was even more amazed to learn that there is not a single alcoholic here, inasmuch as every inhabitant of this institution asserted that he had been sent here by chance, because of malicious slander by his own wife. And that girls get married for the sole purpose of, in time, sending their "lords and masters" to the LTP.

Gradually opening up before me was a world which would provide "nourishment" for ten writers of humor, if they managed to get here. Just take, for example, my visit to the LTP's isolation unit, which has now been renamed, in connection with the all-encompassing humanization, as the chamber for intensive observation. Four unshaven, puffy types in a tiny cell equipped with double bunks told me the following stories:

"A friend came to see me! We chatted for a while. And then he put two bottles of vodka into a pair of tarpaulin boots. So that they wouldn't break. And he threw them over the fence onto the territory. I picked them up. I drank one bottle right away and hid the second one. Now I've been in here for ten days."

Tormented by his lengthy treatment, another inhabitant of this chamber told me how he had "taken a bite" of the state-owned furniture:

"And I even swallowed a small iron hook from the bunk! Because I was irresponsible and beside myself."

And here is a scene from what is designated as a "trial of violators before the committee": the table is approached by a young fellow dressed in a quilted jacket and, despite the fact that it is February, in sandals. And, naturally, he has no socks on under them.

"Well, now, what do you have to say for yourself?" the committee chairman strictly asked the victim of the "green snake." "How did it happen that you got drunk? And did you want to throw your own mother out the window?"

"I wasn't drunk. And I didn't drink anything!" the violator replied. "I tried some kefir for dinner. And it's a known fact that kefir contains alcohol. Your own devices showed that."

These people, however, have not committed any kinds of crimes for which they could be convicted. But they are serving time. And what for?

In order to understand this, we must take a look at our history. Not as contained in the books, of course, but at that which was written between the lines. It turns out that the LTP's made their appearance as follows. On a

certain occasion N.S. Khrushchev proclaimed that mankind's bright future—communism—would soon come about in our country. Preparations had to be made. And everybody focused their attention on alcoholics. What was to be done? A decision was taken: the alcoholics had to be quickly re-educated prior to the advent of communism. But our society had already been set up in such a way that even the very best intentions invariably led us into unjustifiable cruelty. And the LTP, the "Thaw's" own child, did not avoid the common fate.

At first everything was fitting and proper. Closed-type hospitals belonging to the Ministry of Health came into being. Years went by. The drunkards lay quietly in the wards and were treated.... And this was at a time when the entire Soviet people were striving in a single endeavor....

In sum, the LTP's were turned over to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Since the time of the GULAGs this ministry had accumulated experience in how to utilize "free-gratis" manpower.

And so matters went on and on. For 25 years the preventive-health centers grew just as rapidly as Khrushchev's five-story buildings. There was no lack of manpower; and every plant director, while loudly cursing drunkards, secretly dreamed of having such a reserve army of laboring alcoholics in his own plant.

The leading officials also very much liked the fact that it was easy to hide a fellow in an LTP. Just try and fill out the proper forms for a person who is in prison! What about proof of guilt? And the procurator? And the attorney for the defense? But in the case of an LTP any district chief can handle the matter. Does the man in question drink? Who in our country does not drink?! Affidavits were quickly gathered, a medical commission filled out the proper forms, and the court rubber-stamped them.

I was interested in finding out how this is done nowadays.

"Well, it's just the same. They all come here the same way," I was told by Major Yu.I. Kurbatov in the special section. "A divisional chief gathers affidavits from relatives and neighbors. Then a physician who is a drug specialist ascertains whether the man is an alcoholic or not. Subsequently, he is taken to a court, and the judge determines the time period required for his treatment. And then he comes to us. So the LTP is only the final, culminating stage. Nowadays, to be sure, the requirements have been tightened up. A man must first be treated at a drug-oriented health center."

Such a practice is employed throughout the entire country. It is called "without a court or investigation." Here we really must give some thought to a person's rights. After all, perestroika has been "in season" now for more than four years.

Although it is a child of the "Thaw," the LTP also has its father's blood—that of a totalitarian system. Moreover, this kinship may be traced by even a layman's glance at the procedures which prevail within the "zone." On the one hand, the regulations proclaim that an alcoholic is also a human being, also a comrade. On the other hand, when a comrade leaves the treatment institution, he is considered to be a kind of fugitive, a former citizen from the zone.

Or consider the following paradox. The comrades do have the right to labor. And those who stubbornly did not wish to exercise this right in practice during the years of stagnation were put into the isolation unit. But there they do not have the right to rest or recreation.

Only the USSR Supreme Soviet has the power to resolve the paradoxes of the LTP and examine the competency of the system itself. But judging by all we know, the present-day highest organ of state authority does not have the "arms or hands" to reach the LTP. What is to be done?

In view of the lack of solutions to this problematic situation, let me make a suggestion. Inasmuch as the comrades have not been deprived of their electoral rights, they should nominate their own candidates for the office of people's deputy. They should set up an "alcoholic lobby" within the organs of power. This lobby would periodically remind people of its existence by coming to the microphone "like a buzzing gadfly." Perhaps then the parliamentarians would pay attention to the LTP's and finally resolve their fate.

But all joking aside, this problem is very serious and much-neglected. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Health, and Ministry of Justice, which are trying to resolve it somehow, have not arrived at a common solution. Instead, confusion and discord have arisen. Here are some of the most recent examples. A regulation dated August 1989 proclaims the following: if someone flees from an LTP, it is to be considered an escape. But already in December it was half-revoked. If, it says, someone flees from an LTP but does not go past or through the fence, then this is not considered an escape.

As a result of all these initiatives, an orgy of bureaucratic humanization is to be observed in the LTP's. It is come to the point where the following measures have been abolished: wearing prison-type numbers on the patients' jackets, haircuts to the point of baldness, visits conducted through a glass barrier, walking or marching in a regimented order (as in a drill formation), and deprivation of hot food to those who have committed an offense. And the very latest regulations contain an outright revolutionary directive: at times those persons undergoing preventive health treatment can be called by their first names and patronymics.

These trends are also noticeable in the Alma-Ata Preventive Health Center.

"Nowadays in our place people don't have to strip completely naked when being searched," I was informed by my "companion," who was obviously proud of such achievements in the field of human rights.

The treatment wing is the pride of the administration. And never mind about the strong, steel grille across the corridor, as well as on the windows and doors of the wards. The main thing is that it's warm, well-lit, and clean. It has a laser unit, a tomograph [X-ray diagnostic unit], and a device for smooching out [?] needles. And here is a domestic, Soviet invention: positioned at a 45-degree angle are two, long tin troughs from an army wash-stand.

"Here's where we inculcate a revulsion toward alcohol," explained Lieutenant-Colonel S. Yabrov, chief of the Treatment Unit. "First we give them an injection, and then we give them a small glass of vodka."

"But why are those troughs there?"

"That's where they run afterwards.... And then..."

Well, now, no matter how you twist things around, an LTP is not a hospital but a prison. And, therefore, it would be naive to call for any mercy or kindness here. This is spoken about directly in letters to the editor. Here is one of them which came from the Ukraine: "A patient does not have the right to stand up for his own rights, and if such a thing does occur, then there must be a lightning-like punishment, which has a negative effect on the patient's psychological basis. And without such an action we cannot count on the effectiveness of the treatment. The patient is constantly in a stress-type situation or condition. What kind of useful treatment could we even talk about in that case?! Because, after all, a psychological basis is needed for effective treatment."

I once asked one of those persons who was scheduled to leave the walls of the LTP soon whether he would drink in the future.

"Of course!" he answered ...

But then for what purpose is all this being done? Why are these restrictions placed on people's rights, capabilities for functioning, and freedom?

The barracks of the Alma-Ata LTP were built by Japanese. No, not by the present-day Japanese in exchange for hard currency, but rather by those whom we took prisoner 45 years ago. They built these barracks "for free." And so the comfort in the rooms is likewise at the "for free" level of those years. The furniture consists of double, i.e., two-tiered, iron-frame bunks such as are used in our army and in our prisons. The sanitary "conveniences" are outdoors.

Placed in the middle of the abbreviation LTP is the word "trudovoy" [labor]. They say that labor made human beings out of apes. Possibly so. But can he turn a human face to those who had wasted it? I thought about this as I walked through the shops of the furniture factory where

most of the laboring alcoholics here work. They do a great deal. For example, they recently completed a special order for furniture for children's homes. And those persons for whom there are not enough workplaces or jobs are utilized in the city as helpers on construction projects, freight-handlers, and trash-collectors. Labor, of course, is educational. But labor suitable for monkeys never does.

"Our production is on a cost-accounting basis. The people being treated here pay for everything—clothing, food, and the treatment itself. Moreover, 30 percent of their earnings is collected by the state." This principle of social justice which is in effect here was explained by Colonel I.A. Gulyatyayev, the enterprise's chief. He continued as follows: "I, for example, do not consider this to be justifiable."

By the way, I agree with the above statement. I do not know what ideas the leading officials were guided by when they set this predatory percentage for deductions to be contributed to the budget. Could it be that they feared that the alcoholics would somehow get rich? But, in his connection, they obviously forgot that, before he become ill, a person drinks for a long time. And in buying each bottle from the state, he contributes an enormous sum to the country's budget. Over a year's time this "drinkers' contribution" amounts to tens of billions of rubles. Not to even mention the moral aspect of this policy: it turns out that first they drink heavily and even become drunkards; and then they serve time in prison. Furthermore, we try to fleece them even there!

Should we extort revenue from human trouble and misfortune? Would it not be more just and equitable to permit the alcoholic to help his own children with this money?

As we all know for certain, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. And if we are to proceed boldly along this road, then why don't we put prostitutes behind barbed wire? Because, after all, they lead an amoral way of life! And perhaps we could also put mothers there who abandon their children in children's homes. And single mothers too! And likewise all kinds of persons whom our authorities do not like. And they....

Stop! It seems that this has already happened. They have already been put there. They have also been sentenced to insane asylums. And the whole country was transformed into one big camp. And the people there were forced to engage in involuntary labor.

But where is the solution to be found?

There is only one solution. We must follow the law. Those persons who have violated law and order must be tried. The others need to be treated. But not in an ITP. It should be done the way it is in all civilized countries. Without infringing upon the rights of the individual. Because, in the final analysis, without man himself, without his personal participation, we will not move

forward in any direction. Nor in the direction of combatting alcoholism. Practical experience has demonstrated this.

Azerbaijan CC Resolution On Training Gifted Youth

90US0751A Baku BAKINSKY RABOCHIIY in Russian
18 Mar 90 p 1

[Report on Azerbaijan CPSU Central Committee resolution on training gifted youth: "On the Creation of a System to Identify, Train and Educate Gifted Children"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee approved a resolution about the creation of a system to identify, train and educate gifted children. The resolution notes that in light of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on the necessity of a comprehensive activation of the creative and spiritual potential of society, a new and extremely important task for the national education system and the general public has emerged: the education of an intellectual generation of the scientific and creative intelligentsia, the creation for the student youth of optimum conditions for discovering individuals' abilities and the realization of their creative potential.

Recently, certain work on the identification of gifted and talented children and students, their comprehensive education and development, their acquaintance with promising fields of scientific-technical progress, and bringing the treasures of world culture and of their own country within their grasp has been undertaken by party, Soviet, republic and komsomol organs in association with the "Creative Gift" all-union scientific-practical center as well as with representatives of scientific and pedagogical groups. Thus, a group of gifted children has been selected by republic psychologists and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. With the assistance of the "Bakneftemash" production association a creative summer school and the Junior Academy have been created and several schools in Baku and Sumgait have been opened as well as a boarding school with a natural sciences and mathematical specialization within the structure of the Baku University. A council on the problems of developing the creative abilities of children and students has been created within the Ministry of Education. Business contacts are being established with corresponding scientific institutions in our country as well as with international public organizations. The participation of a group of young scientists from the republic in the work of the Soviet-American seminar on the problems of the education and upbringing of gifted children has been arranged. The Communist Party Central Committee of Azerbaijan has proposed that the Ministry of Education in association with the Academy of Sciences, the ASPC [Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions], the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan LKSM [Leninist Young Communist League], interested ministries and departments, creative and public organizations of the republic, intensify attention to the

problem of identifying and activating the intellectual and creative potential of the individual as a new important direction in improving education; elaborate and implement a system of locating and identifying talented children and students, of their comprehensive and thorough education and upbringing and of their preparation for creative professional endeavors. This system provides for:

- the creation of a psychological service attached to rayon and city education departments with the assigned functions of locating and identifying gifted and talented children and students;

- the organization of summer schools for talented students where the republic's leading psychologists will conduct a thorough study of the children and where classes on computer science, technical skills, the fundamentals of science, art and various sports will be organized.

- the opening of a number of schools and boarding-type specialized high schools, similar to a lyceum, gymnasium or college which are attached to leading institutes of higher learning and the republic's scientific centers and which will have curricula in the natural sciences, humanities, computer science and robotics, pedagogical sciences, medicine and philosophy, music and art and other fields with a course of studies organized in a special program.

- the practice should be adopted of assigning especially gifted students in their last years of high school to prominent scientists and leading laboratories and bringing them on a permanent basis into scientific research and design in the most important areas of scientific-technical progress with their subsequent employment in these same institutions.

It is recommended that the deans of higher educational institutes accept students from schools of the lyceum, gymnasium and college types on the basis of competition based on scores obtained from final exams conducted with the participation of teachers from higher educational institutes. Also stipulated are the creation of a junior extension academy attached to the republic Academy of Sciences for gifted and talented students permanently residing in rural areas and the organization of their training according to individual programs and plans. We should also organize the training of gifted students in higher educational institutes according to plans which provide for significant independence in mastering a broad program and assure their participation in scientific research work and on-the-job training in the leading higher educational institutes and the country's scientific centers as well as their participation in all-union and international conferences, symposiums, seminars and olympiads. Graduates with high intellectual and creative potential should be sent to work in the leading academic and branch institutes, to the faculties

of higher educational institutes. Necessary conditions for scientific and professional growth should be created for them.

It has been proposed that the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Education create a scientific-practical center attached to the Baku State University to work on problems of identifying and developing the creative potential of the individual; that it analyze the question of training in this higher educational institute specialists in the field of social and pedagogical psychology beginning in 1990 and also the organization of courses for training school psychologists from among general educational school teachers and workers from institutions in the educational system.

A proposal from the people of the republic on the creation of an Azerbaijan "Istedad" association, analogous to the "Intellect of the 21st Century" all-union fund currently being organized and corresponding internal and national associations of the developed countries, was approved. This particular association is designed to unite and coordinate the efforts of scientists, education workers, the creative intelligentsia and labor collectives in a systems-approach solution to the problem of identifying and developing the creative potential of gifted and talented children, students and young specialists.

At the initiative of the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Education it has been arranged that the Council of Ministers and the Azerbaijan SSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] appropriate in 1990 sufficient funds and resources for the reconstruction and construction of new types of educational institutes and summer creative schools. Seek opportunities to send a group of gifted boys and girls each year to study in the leading foreign higher educational institutes in those specialties which determine scientific-technical progress.

Party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms have been assigned the task of conducting the necessary political-organizational work in the primary party organizational schools, in children's preschool and out-of-school institutions and higher educational institutes on the implementation of a system of locating and developing gifted and talented children and students.

The republic State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the editorial staffs of newspapers and magazines and the "Znaniye" society should provide for extensive propaganda and publicity of the experience of working with gifted and talented children and students. They should explain the necessity for educating a new generation of the intellectual and creative intelligentsia as one of the more important conditions of the revolutionary restructuring of our society.

Georgian Church Leaders on Perestroika, Religious Renaissance

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[Article by Eka Akhalkatsi: "Christianity is Breaking Down All the Barriers"]

[Text] In Christ there is no... Ilene, no Israelite, no circumcised, no uncircumcised, no barbarian, no Scythian, no slave, no free man. All are equal before God... (Kolos, 3.11)...

"Experienced" people say: The end of the world is drawing near. Those who are more optimistically inclined bravely withstand the flood of information which overwhelms us about catastrophes, tragedies, consequences of ethnic crises, and the clairvoyants and extrasensories who come from out of nowhere. There are new sects, new societies, new associations. There is the poltergeist, which has become just as customary phenomenon as, say, the appearance at the door of a neighbor who lives downstairs... Only the ministers of religious societies are able to retain their wise calmness in a situation where, it seems, the world has gone crazy. After all, who better than they would know: "...any kingdom divided amongst itself will become barren, and any city or house which is divided against itself cannot stand" (Matt., 12.25). Perhaps this is why the church has become such an attraction for all. Or perhaps this is not the only reason.

To those who have quite recently learned to kneel when entering a church, to patiently wait in the long line for confession and not miss any religious rituals, it is not an insult to say: All of them do not see this as a true need, a "movement of the soul". And this is understandable. Today's generation, alas, has not been brought up that way. The blank wall which for many long years has separated the state from the church cannot vanish without a trace, and those lofty feelings which the Christian religion instilled in our forebears have, alas, been forgotten... The current generation has only now begun to learn charity, kindness, compassion, and love for one's neighbor.

There is perhaps no one in Georgia who, remembering that horrible April night, does not see the image Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia Ilya II, his face distorted in pain; who on New Year's night has not risen to his feet, repeating after His Holiness the unfamiliar words of a prayer; and who, lamenting over the—alas—far from perfect image of Tbilisi, did not hopefully turn his thoughts to the image of the future "Tsminda Sameba" cathedral... Finally, can we imagine the old part of the Georgian capital without the zion, mosque, Armenian church and synagogue all peacefully neighboring each other? Can we imagine Kalinin street without the Church of Aleksandr Nevskiy and the Catholic church?

Quite recently, an interview with any of the representatives of traditional or nontraditional religious confessions submitted by any journalist to his managing editors

would have been doomed to the "round file". But fortunately times have changed. Perestroika! Great changes have begun also in the religious communities. What changes, specifically?

Metropolitan KONSTANTIN, Vicar of the Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia:

Perestroika has allowed us to perform many good deeds which Georgia needed. Great changes have begun in our patriarchy. Let us take, for example, the questions associated with religious education. Before, as we know, the education of the clergy was limited to the Mtskheta Religious Seminary. Today it may be continued at the Tbilisi Religious Academy. In recent years, the territory of the Georgian patriarchy has also been expanded. We have been given a building next to the Zion, in which the residence of the Catholicos is now located, and quite recently—a part of a building in which the Tbilisi UVD [Internal Affairs Administration] was located. Yet all this is not the main thing.

Much more significant is the fact that in 1989 alone, 161 churches became operational in Georgia. In the first two months of this year they were joined by 23 more. Among them were such significant ones as the Metekhskiy Cathedral, the Church of St. Nicholas in Mtskheta, and the Church of the Holy Iverskiy Mother of God... Church services have been resumed in Gelati and Shio-Mgvime. It is important that Christian churches have opened in Adzhariya. In the near future several more churches will be restored and handed over to the Georgian patriarchy in Marneulskiy rayon.

It is a generally known fact that the "Tsminda Sameba" cathedral will be erected in Tbilisi. New churches will be built in Kutaisi, the Arago-Tsalksiy, Akhaltsikhskiy, Samtskhe-Dzhavakhetkiy, Bodbiyskiy, Alaverdskiy and Batumi-Shemokmedskiy diocese, and in Mtskheta. The Catholicos-Patriarch is also concerned that the Dzhvarskiy Monastery in Jerusalem and the Iveryskiy monastery on the holy Mount Athena be returned to Georgia.

Any day now, the question of separating the republic Council on Religious Affairs from the USSR Council of Ministers will be resolved. It will be under the jurisdiction of the Georgian Council of Ministers. We welcome this step, since separation from the center will help us to more efficiently resolve questions associated with the restoration of existing churches and the building of new ones.

We are glad to note that perestroika has not only given us the opportunity to implement our plans and solve our problems which had accumulated in the years of stagnation, but has freed the people themselves. You probably know that a group of believers recently repeated the trip from Paravani to Mtskheta, a route which had been travelled by the forebear of Georgian Christianity, Saint Nino. The number of students studying in the seminary and at the academy has also increased.

Interest in religious literature has increased immeasurably, and it has become possible to publish it in large circulation volume. Thus, in recent years the circulation of "Dzhvari Vazisa" increased tenfold. While before the journal **BOGOSLOVSKIY SBORNIK** was published only for the clerical patriarchy, today it is published with a circulation of 10,000 copies, i.e., many who want to may obtain it. This is not to mention the church calendars, which are published in large quantities in the most varied forms. At the same time, as we know, the Bible has been translated into modern Georgian. We have become convinced that there are very many who wish to acquire it, and by the end of the year 50,000 copies of this valuable book will be published.

I would also like to remind you that a copy of the icon of the Iverskiy Mother of God, painted by a Greek artist, with the blessing of Ilya II, was given as a gift to Georgia by the Athenian Iverskiy Monastery. It is a generally known fact also that the icon of St. Georgiy was transferred to Tbilisi University from the Kashvetkiy Monastery. These facts alone may be considered a consequence of the changes taking place in our time.

Bishop Gevork SERADARYAN, head of the Armenian diocese in Georgia:

We are heartened by the renewal taking place in the country, and we welcome perestroika and pray for its victorious completion. We must note with regret that the processes of democratization taking place in the country today have led to inter-national conflicts. The grief caused by the ethnic crises which have entailed much human sacrifice will long live within us. Nevertheless, I believe that these misfortunes have occurred through the fault of intolerant and irresponsible people. Human consciousness and tolerance toward each other is the only solution to resolving many problems. A particular role in this respect, I am convinced, has been ascribed to religion. It is specifically religion which preaches tolerance and love for one's neighbor.

Of course, in recent years people have become closer to the church. Before many knew about the gospel only from hearsay. Now almost all are interested in church literature. However, it is also important how this church literature is perceived and transformed in the consciousness of the people. Today throughout the country, churches which were closed before are being reopened. Why, before we could not even dream of this. After the sadly infamous events which took place in the 30's, most Armenian churches were closed, and part were destroyed. Today for the entire Armenian diocese in Georgia there are only four churches in operation—two in Tbilisi and one each in Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikh. We must remember that a Church which has many operating churches and many believers is blessed.

Our peoples have always shared their joy and their grief together—that is an axiom. One of the last grievous events for the Armenian people was the death of the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem—His Holiness Yeghishe

Tertiaryan, and on this occasion the holiest and most blessed Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia Ilya II expressed his condolences to the catholicos of all Armenians Vagen I. The holiest and most blessed Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia greets us with love, and we greatly value his contribution to the cause of Rebirth of Faith.

Rasin Mekhtigly RIZAYEV, chairman of the Tbilisi "Dzhuma" Mosque

I have been here since 1976. Unlike the previous years, we are celebrating all Muslim holidays and customs. We celebrate them unhindered, not like before. And, as a result of these changes, we now have more parishoners, and young people are more active in attending the mosque.

There are two mosques operating in Georgia: in Tbilisi and Tabumi. Therefore, the faithful from Bolnisi and Marneuli come here to our mosque. As for the changes, the Koran is being translated from Arabic to Azerbaijani, and recently a school was opened in Baku...

In conclusion I will say that an affinity toward religion, including Islam, throws out a challenge to chauvenism and national exclusiveness, which are considered to be a sin.

Abram TETRASHVILI, chairman of the Tbilisi religious society of Georgian Jews:

Changes? They are obvious. They are in all spheres of our life. As for questions of religion, as the Holiest and Most Blessed Ilya II noted, over a period of all 26 centuries during which Jews have lived on Georgian land, they have never yet felt themselves persecuted or offended in any way. And today our two nations have become even closer to each other. Also inseparable from Georgia are those who have returned to their homeland—to Israel.

As for the changes, it is very important, in my opinion, that there is a special authorization according to which we have begun to teach the children the Hebrew language, writing and religion. Here, in Leselidza, there is the meeting-house of the Ashkenazi family. For now the lessons will be conducted there. The government has allocated for us a building on Ivanidze Street, 3. After repairs are completed, a museum will be created on the first floor, instructional classes on the second, and a hotel on the third. Thanks to the Tbilisi gorispolkom, at our request the building at Leselidze 47 has also been vacated. That is where the House of Marriage will be located, which we did not have before, as well as a banquet hall.

Archpriest Mikhail DIDENKO, dean of the Church of Aleksandr Nevskiy:

In the years of perestroika the easing of conditions for church leaders has become apparent. We freely preach God's word, and servers of the church are elected as USSR people's deputies—which had never been in all

the years of Soviet rule. I have been dean here since 1985. Recently we completed repair of the church and improved its grounds. Before this was very difficult to do. We had to wait a long time for permission from the authorities, and the taxes which were levied against the church during the repairs were more than we could pay. But now we received permission right away from the Tbilisi gorispolkom.

The effect of perestroika on church rituals is also evident. Before we could not conduct them as freely, and the people themselves shied away—both during weddings and when they christened their children. It was more the grandmothers who brought in the babies secretly, so that the parents would not know. Now it is a different matter. Perestroika has made many things possible. Among the very important occurrences I would like to mention the fact that there are more young people among the faithful. Young people have even begun to sing in the church choir—from the choirs of the conservatory opera studio and the Georgian a capella. There are also fewer formalities when we send people to study in Zagorsk. Even now we intend to send two young men there.

Speaking of the changes which are taking place, I cannot overlook the achievements of the Catholicos-Patriarch of all Georgia Ilya II. He is showing fatherly love in regard to all the diocese found on Georgian territory.

Pater Jan SNEZHINSKIY, dean of the Catholic community in Tbilisi:

This is my 20th year in Tbilisi. May God grant health to the leaders of the country for opening up all the stops. Of course, not everything is yet complete. Yet the fact is that these processes of liberalization must be used in Christian significance. So that we, Christians of all persuasions and even non-Christians, will try to love God. How

can this be practically expressed? So that we all devoutly pray and honestly work for the good of society, for the good of the family, so that our prayers and our labor would be from love of God. So that our prayer will be an expression of love for God, and our labor, our everyday labor—the best prayer.

In recent years it has become easier to breathe. No one is pressing on us. Before, Komsomol pickets stood here on the days of church holidays. It was considered almost a disgrace to christen a child, and people had quiet weddings. Today—glory to perestroika—all these years of pressure are behind us, and we must make use of the trend of the new times to achieve spiritual progress. If there is spiritual progress, that means we will become more honest and kind. We will be able to avoid narrow-mindedness. After all, Christianity does not tolerate narrow-mindedness.

We wish good for all people who live here, and pray to God that the conflicts with a bloody outcome are not repeated, that people will solve all their problems in dialogues, and not by the sword. We need Christian wisdom, especially in Georgia, where for so many centuries people have given their lives for Christ. It is for Christ that we can give our lives, but not in conflicts. There must be more spiritual profit, and I preach this before my parishoners, and among them there are representatives of different nationalities.

Every individual must achieve peace first of all within himself, and, with God's help, within his family. Then—with his neighbors, in the entire republic, and finally—in the whole world. I emphasize: Each person must begin with himself, and here any effort at hypocrisy hits like a boomerang at each individual. Using this opportunity, I wish for the people of Georgia to gain a deep knowledge of Christ and to love him. These are our main riches.

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